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The Ruling Classes—Parliament sitting at Westminster, October, 1399.
Harl. MS. 1319; Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People* (Illd. Edn.).

English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages

BY

A. ABRAM

D.Sc. (Lond.); F.R.Hist.S.

WITH 77 ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED

NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO

1913

TO

THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

PREFACE

To us who are "the heirs of all the ages" the study of our ancestors is one that is most worthy of attention, and nothing, perhaps, helps us more in our efforts to understand them, or gives us a pleasanter sense of intimacy with them than to see them engaged in their ordinary avocations, and in their own homes. So in the following pages I have tried to picture their life in the later Middle Ages, not merely because there is much that is curious and attractive in their manners and customs, but also in the hope of gaining some insight into their characters. My subject is so vast and many-sided that it is impossible to treat it fully within the limits of a single book, and I think that a truer and fairer impression can be conveyed by brief descriptions of several aspects of it than by detailed accounts of one or two. I have therefore adopted this plan even at the risk of appearing somewhat sketchy. The term "later Middle Ages" may, I fear, sound rather vague, but having in a previous study of social life found the inconvenience of rigidly fixed dates, I am determined to avoid them now. I have, however, dealt mainly with the years which lie between the Black Death and the end of the fifteenth century—a period which is fairly homogeneous, and of immense importance in the history of the development of our national character, for it was a time when old institutions and ideals

were breaking down, and many new influences were being brought to bear upon the people.

The study of the lives of past generations is full of difficulties, and no one is more keenly aware than myself of the imperfections of my work, but it has been so interesting and fascinating a task that I have never once regretted undertaking it. I have derived my information chiefly from contemporary sources—historical and literary works, official documents, and illustrated manuscripts, and for the sake of those who may wish to verify my statements, or to go further into any points for themselves, I have given references to my authorities in an appendix.

It is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Hubert Hall and Miss E. M. Delf for their helpful suggestions and criticism, to Miss C. W. Arding and Mr. H. Chapman for the gift of photographs, to Dr. Hurry for permission to copy his admirable plan of Reading Abbey, from his *Rise and Fall of Reading Abbey*, published by Mr. Elliot Stock, and to Mr. Holland Young for allowing me to reproduce photographs of the George Inn, Salisbury, and for sending me particulars of its history extracted from the City Archives.

A. A.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES

Bury Wills : Wills and Inventories from the Register of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury. Camden Soc., O.S., xlix.

Early Chanc. Proceed. : Early Chancery Proceedings.

Howard Household Books, I : Accounts and Memoranda of Sir John Howard.

Howard Household Books, II : Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey.

Italian Relation : A Relation of the Island of England.

Rot. Parl. : Rotuli Parliamentorum.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL CLASSES

Class distinctions were far more real and important in the Middle Ages than they are to-day, and the distance between the upper and lower classes was far greater. Although poverty debars some persons from utilizing some privileges nominally open to all, preferential treatment is not now accorded to any class, but then the Aristocracy enjoyed many advantages. Great deference was paid to them by those who were lower in the social scale, and men sued to them for their favour. They possessed much political influence both in Parliament and outside it. We learn from the *Paston Letters*, that in 1472, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk decided who should be Knights of the Shire for those counties, and that it was impossible for any one else to be elected. They were so powerful that very often their misdeeds went unpunished, because they could not be brought to justice. If a poor man break his oath, says the poet Hoccleve, he is sent to prison, but no one dares openly to accuse a rich man, and great folks take the law into their own hands. The *Liber Niger*, which contains ordinances for the regulation of Edward IV's household, decrees that any one under the rank of a baron swearing by God's body shall have no wine at meals, but, appar-

ently, the higher nobles could do as they pleased. A proclamation announcing a performance of the Corpus Christi play at York orders that no man shall go armed, saving knights and squires of worship who ought to have their swords borne after them. At banquets the order of precedence was very strictly observed, and many cookery books give one recipe for preparing a dish " for a lorde " and another when it was intended for " commyn peple." Privileges such as these may seem rather trivial, but they illustrate the Medieval point of view.

For many centuries the superiority of the upper classes was accepted as a matter of course, but in the later Middle Ages it did not pass unchallenged.

> " When Adam delved and Eve span
> Who was then a gentleman ? "

asked John Ball, who incited the peasants to revolt in 1381 ; but the rising failed, and we have no reason to believe that the bulk of the nation sympathized with it. The author of *Richard the Redeless* was keenly alive to the wrongs of the poor, he scorned to make obeisance to lords and ladies, yet even he repeated with approval an old saying—woe to the kingdom where grooms and nobles are all equally great.

Changes were, however, going on which eventually altered the positions of noble and peasant alike. The Feudal System divided men into lords and vassals, free and unfree. This simple arrangement served well enough as long as they lived either in a castle, or under its shelter, and while war and agriculture were their chief occupations. But when towns became independent, when industry and commerce proved profitable employ-

ments, and the spirit of enterprise grew strong, a system which bound men to the soil was found intolerable. Feudalism was no longer in harmony with the ideas of the Age, it crumbled into decay, and modern society gradually arose on its ruins. New classes came into existence, and the old ones tended to disappear. In the *Rolls of Parliament*, and in petitions to the Chancellor, whose jurisdiction was so important in the fifteenth century, we see, on the one hand, lords asserting that their villeins will not perform their customary services, and on the other, men declaring that they are claimed as bondmen when they are really free. In spite of all opposition, the number of serfs steadily decreased, so that by the end of the Middle Ages they formed a very small proportion of the community. Some fled to the towns, which welcomed them gladly, because more workmen were needed for the growing industries. If they remained there safely for a year and a day, and never returned to their old homes. they became free. Some gained freedom by taking Holy Orders. Others purchased manumission, and the fact that they could amass enough money to accomplish this object is an indication of the improved conditions under which they were living. Indeed, some serfs possessed a considerable amount of property—a man named William Heynes, a villein of the manor of Castle Combe, in Wiltshire, left goods worth £2,000, which was a large sum in those days. As time went on, fewer and fewer tenants rendered personal service, and more and more paid money to their lords instead.

These causes and the diminution of the population

due to the Black Death deprived the lord of many of his vassals. He was obliged to fill their places in his household with hired servants, who were not bound to him by traditional ties like his old dependents. Their service was voluntary, and they could leave him if he did not pay their wages, or if they preferred some other master. Frequently, indentures were drawn up, and signed by both parties, stating the duties of the servant, the period for which he was engaged, and the remuneration he was to receive. This plan was, no doubt, a safeguard, but it is obvious that the position of a master who bargained with his servants was quite different from that of a Feudal magnate. At the same time, the scarcity of labour made it difficult for the lord to cultivate his own private land, the demesne, and he consequently leased out large portions of it. He, therefore, in the course of our period, ceased to be a large farmer, and developed into a landlord of the modern type, subsisting on his rents, but not directly concerned in the produce of the land.

This change in land-tenure had far-reaching results. The land was let to tenant-farmers, who did not render military service, as many free tenants had done under the old régime, but who paid a rent for it. Sometimes the landlord provided both the live and dead stock on the land, which must have been a great assistance to the tenant. The lengths of the leases varied considerably, as well as the amounts of land granted. Some of the farmers had only small plots, but others were well-to-do people. On the whole, these yeomen, as we are in the habit of calling them, seem to have prospered, and they

THE MIDDLE CLASSES—(1) A MERCHANT, (2) A LAWYER.
Ellesmere MS. of Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales;* Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People* (Illd. Edn.).

[*To face p. 4.*

formed an important branch of the middle class, whose growth is one of the most striking features in the social life of our period.

Merchants and manufacturers were also prominent members of the middle class. Many of them acquired large fortunes in trade, and their wealth gave them great weight. Frequently, bodies of traders, like the Merchants of the Staple, who exported wool, or rich individuals, like the famous Dick Whittington, financed the king, and he, in return, bestowed honours upon them. They were often employed upon public business, such as negotiating treaties, or arranging royal marriages, and some of them were advanced to the dignity of knighthood. The Duke of Suffolk, who rose to such heights and had such a tragic fall in the reign of Henry VI, was a descendant of Sir William de la Pole, a merchant, who lent money to Edward III. Not only did men of the middle class attain political power, but their social standing greatly improved. They began to intermarry with the gentry and the nobility, and thus the two classes were linked together. Even kings did not disdain to be the guests of tradesmen; Stow tells us that Henry Picard, vintner, Mayor of London, sumptuously feasted four monarchs—Edward III, John of France, David of Scotland, and the King of Cyprus, besides the Prince of Wales and many noblemen. It is pleasant to think that even in those days the City was noted for its hospitality. Probably the dealers in wool and in cloth were foremost amongst traders, but the Mercers (silk-merchants), the Grocers, who sold spices wholesale, the Vintners and the Goldsmiths, and others

too numerous to specify, were also considered " worthy " men.

The legal profession afforded another ladder by which men could rise in the world. The career of Judge Paston, whose letters are amongst the collection which bears the name of his family, affords an example of what might easily happen. His father, Clement Paston, was so poor that he was obliged to borrow money to send his son to school, but the boy did so well that he was made a serjeant, and finally a judge, and died universally respected. The number of lawyers increased very greatly, owing to the enormous amount of litigation which went on : a statute, passed in the thirty-third year of Henry VI, declares that in time not long past there had been only six or eight attornies for the whole of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, but at the date of the Act there were fourscore or more in Norwich alone. In consequence, it was said, many lawsuits arose " more of evil will and malice than of the truth of the thing " : it was therefore decreed that there be only twelve attornies for Norfolk and Suffolk, and two for Norwich. An earlier law (1372) also affords evidence of a feeling of resentment against lawyers, and, perhaps, also a fear that they might exercise too much political influence. It enacted that lawyers practising in the king's courts, who made Parliament a mere convenience for transacting the affairs of their clients to the neglect of public business, should no longer be eligible as Knights of the Shire.

Below the middle class were the workmen—artisans and labourers of various kinds, and whereas there was a

tendency for the upper and lower classes to coalesce, there were signs of cleavage between this class and the one above it. There was, for example, a great divergence of interest between a cloth-manufacturer and the hands he employed. Wealth was beginning to be the criterion of a man's social position, although much deference was still paid to birth. It was a period of transition, in which old and new ideas struggled for predominance. In many of the towns moneyed men monopolized the highest offices and controlled municipal policy. The people did not dumbly acquiesce in their subjection, they raised a tumult if they thought their rights were infringed. A custom placed on food caused a rising in Coventry in 1372, and in 1375 the townsfolk " cast their loaves at the Mayor's head," because the bakers had not kept the assize, and he had not punished them according to his office. There were also several riots because the common fields were enclosed, but the people did not gain their end. Similarly, the government of the country was in the hands of the upper and middle classes, and large numbers of the lower classes were debarred from any share in it. An Act passed in 1430 provided that no man should vote at the election of a Knight of the Shire unless he owned a freehold tenement in the county, of the annual value of forty shillings. The sum sounds small to us, but it represented much more then than it does now, and many persons were prevented from voting by the Act. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that Parliament paid little heed to the needs of the working classes, and that legislation unfavourable to them was frequently enacted. From

1349 onwards, wages were fixed by Parliament, and it was a punishable offence to give, or to receive, more than the statutory rate. Labourers were not allowed to leave the district in which they lived, even for the purpose of seeking work, unless they had Letters Patent stating the cause of their going. Impressment of labour by the Crown seems to us a great hardship: yet not only soldiers and sailors were liable to it, but workmen of all kinds. A commission, dated December 5, 1441, authorized the king's broiderer to take needleworkers and broiderers necessary for the king's works, to employ them at the king's wages, and to imprison all who resisted. Incidents like this help us to realize how much our working classes have gained in political enfranchisement and freedom of action.

The Working Classes—Reapers.
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People* (Illd. Edn.).

A Medieval Town—Canterbury at the end of the Fifteenth Century.
MS. Roy. 18 D. ii; Wright, *History of Domestic Manners.*

[*To face p. 8.*

CHAPTER II

LIFE AMONGST THE ARISTOCRACY

Love of show and magnificence was a feeling which pervaded society in the Middle Ages, and manifested itself in all kinds of ways. It may be seen in the pageants which graced civic rejoicings, and in the rites and ceremonies of various orders of knighthood. It can even be traced in the elaborate ritual of the Church, enhanced by music and singing. Perpendicular architecture, the most showy of all Gothic styles, is an embodiment of it. Chroniclers reflect the spirit of the Age in the evident pleasure they take in describing feasts and tournaments: they often pay more attention to them than to subjects which later historians might consider far more important. The Aristocracy, perhaps, exhibited this characteristic more fully than other classes, because they had more opportunity for display. A funeral does not suggest itself to us as a suitable occasion for show, but it was solemnized with great pomp in those days. No less than one hundred and sixty persons (apparently members of Sir John Howard's household) went into mourning for Catherine, Lady Howard, and the quantity of food which was provided for the guests at the funeral was enormous. It included two great boars, twelve great oxen, forty sheep, twelve hogs,

twelve swans, eighty geese, and many other items. There were, in addition, three pipes of wine and thirty-two barrels of beer. Nobles kept up great state and would not do anything which detracted from their dignity—the Duke of Suffolk was summoned to London by a letter of Privy Seal—a message which we should have expected him to think very urgent, but it happened that he had very few of his servants with him at the moment, and he would not go, because he thought it would not be " to his worship " to appear in London with a small retinue.

The most impressive ceremonies naturally centred round the person of the king, and fortunately the Ordinances of the Royal Household are still extant, and enable us to see what the etiquette of the Court was like. It seems to have increased in stringency as time went on. The Articles ordained by Henry VII give minute directions for behaviour at all state functions. The Coronation rites are set forth in great detail ; we are told exactly what the king ought to do—when he must sit, when he must lie, when he must unrobe, when he must robe, and many other points. From actual facts we know how carefully this service was celebrated. When Henry V was crowned the proceedings lasted three days. On the first the king rode in state from Kingston-on-Thames to the Tower. A banquet was given, which a chronicler compared to the feast of an Ahasuerus, and Henry was served by young men who had been chosen to receive knighthood in honour of the event. On the morning of the second day the king heard mass, and then the new knights were created. In the afternoon a

great procession wended its way through the Chepe to Westminster. On the third day the Coronation itself took place, and it was an important and solemn event. The Ordinances of the Household were also greatly concerned with more trival matters, such as the order of precedence to be observed at feasts, and the manner in which the king should be served. This set of rules is in the form of questions and answers, and some of them are very quaint—one decides that if the king ask for wine and spices while a duke and two earls are with him, the highest in rank is to serve him ; another orders that water shall be brought to him, before and after meals, by an earl or a baron. The only persons who were permitted to sit at the royal board were a bishop and a duke, or two earls of royal blood, on the king's side ; and a duchess, and a countess or baroness of royal blood, on the queen's. Other regulations aim at securing privacy for the king. Even minute points, like the order in which New Year's gifts were to be received, and the gratuities to be given to the messengers, are all explained. The whole tendency of Henry VII's ordinances is to increase the dignity of the king, and to place him high above his subjects, and it is an interesting indication of the Tudor policy.

The composition of the Royal Household varied slightly in the course of our period, but it was as a rule a large establishment: to enumerate all the servants in it would be wearisome, but an idea of its size and character in the time of Edward IV can be gained from a sketch of the chief departments and officials given in the *Liber Niger*. There were the offices of the counting-

house, the bakehouse, the pantry, the " waferes," the Butler of England, the " purveyours of wynes," " the sellar," " the buttlarye of ale," the " greate sypcerye," the " confectionarye," the " chaundlerye," the " ewary and napery," the " lavendrey," and a few others. In most of the departments there was a regular gradation of officials—pages, grooms, yeomen, sergeants and clerks. The king had many personal attendants—amongst them were four batchelor knights who acted as his carvers and cupbearers, and he had as well twelve knights of the Household, four of whom were always with him. There were forty squires of the Household, who were to come from sundry shires so that the disposition of the counties might be known through them—a precaution which Edward IV, not sure of the loyalty of his people, must have found very necessary. There were, in addition, squires of the body " to array and unarray the king," the " warderober " and his department, the various officials of the Chamber, " henxmen," the King of Arms, heralds, minstrels, messengers, and one or two more. The king's health was entrusted to a doctor and a surgeon, and he also employed an apothecary and a barber. The dean and the sub-dean of the chapel ministered to the spiritual wants of the community, and they were assisted in the services of the Church by twenty-six chaplains and clerks, two yeomen, and eight children of the chapel. The almoner dispensed the king's charity. In the time of Edward IV the Household was discharged of the Privy Seal and his clerks, and of the Court of the Marshalsea, and of some other officers, except at certain seasons of the year. The Chancellor of England, the

Great Chamberlain, and the Chief Judge of Common Pleas, nominally prominent members of it, could not have spared much time from their public duties for its "stedfast guyding," but its affairs were directed by the treasurer, comptroller, cofferer, king's chamberlain, the steward, and a few other officials.

With such a *ménage* the king's private expenses could not be very small, and we must also take into consideration the cost of providing attendants for the queen and the royal children, and the maintenance of the stables, which are not mentioned in the *Liber Niger*. When Henry VI was ill, and the Household was reduced to a minimum, the queen's retinue numbered one hundred and twenty persons, and Prince Edward's thirty-eight. The royal stables were also reduced. Instead of one "Karre" and five "Chariotts" with thirty-eight horses, Henry only had one "karre" and one chariot with thirteen horses, and only twenty-four saddle and sumpter horses in place of seventy. Edward IV's son had his own establishment. The *Liber Niger* estimated that the Household would cost £13,000 a year, but Henry IV spent as much as £27,000 in one year, and Henry V, on an average, £22,400 a year. His expenses on the day of his Coronation amounted to £971. Edward III seems to have been very generous in rewarding faithful service; we find in the *Issue Rolls* many grants of annuities; "valets" often received £5 a year, or more, and "boys" £3. The queen's attendants were not forgotten, and amongst them was Philippa Chaucer, the wife of the poet. Edward's expenditure was not always devoted to such praiseworthy objects, there are

many entries of payments to his favourite, Alice Perrers, and after his death she was found in possession of 21,868 pearls.

The households of the great nobles were often quite as large as the king's, or larger. Richard, Earl of Warwick, the celebrated king-maker, is said by Stow to have come to London, in 1458, with six hundred men; and other nobles vied with him in the number of their retainers. Their pretensions knew no bounds: they kept up regal state—they had treasurers, comptrollers, stewards—just like the king; some of them even had councils. The retainers did not all live with their lord, but they pledged themselves to serve him in peace and in war, and to come whenever he summoned them. They wore his livery and his badge, and obeyed all his commandments. Some of them were themselves men of good position, and had retainers of their own.

A man who had a body of armed followers always at his beck and call was a very powerful person, more powerful, indeed, than we, who are protected by a standing army and a highly organized police force, can realize. Unfortunately, the nobles made bad use of their power; they were exceedingly proud and turbulent, and continually quarrelling among themselves, and when the succession to the Crown was disputed, and the Government was weak, there was no force strong enough to check them. In the middle of the fifteenth century there were several feuds going on, in different parts of the country, at the same time. In the north of England, Lord Egremont and the Earl of Salisbury behaved as if they were in a land of war. "The grete and grevous

riotes down in the Weste Countrey, betwene th' erle of Devonshire, and the Lord Bonevile" were accompanied by serious outrages. But these affairs were no worse than many others. Sometimes a great lord would take a fancy to the property of one of his neighbours, and eject the rightful owner. Margaret Paston gives a very striking account of the siege of Caister Castle by the Duke of Norfolk's men: she writes that two of the defenders are dead and many others greatly hurt, they lack gunpowder and arrows, and that the place is so broken by the guns of the other party that they are likely to lose both it and their lives, unless hasty help be sent to them. She adds that the besiegers intend to make a great assault on the castle, and are preparing a great multitude of guns and other ordinance for the purpose. After five weeks the Pastons surrendered.

The Aristocracy frequently interfered with the course of justice by intimidating the jury, or winning over the judge. A man wrongfully sued by an opponent who was supported by the Duke of Norfolk, complained to Judge Paston. The judge advised him not to plead, because he would have the worst of it, were his case never so true, and, besides, no man of law in Norfolk or Suffolk would be with him against such an adversary. Judge Paston himself was not a man of straw, he was nicknamed "the Good Judge" on account of his integrity, so his warning is the more significant. If peaceful means failed, lords did not scruple to uphold their retainers by force of arms. Many efforts were made to stop these practices, and many laws were passed against them, but they were quite unavailing because the fore-

most men in the country were amongst the offenders. The magnitude of the evil may be seen by the fact that Parliament was obliged to forbid lords of the Council to receive, cherish, or hold in household, robbers, oppressors of the people, manslayers, felons, outlaws and other misdoers, or to take up any other man's cause or quarrel. It was not until a strong king arose in the person of Henry VII that the lawlessness of the nobles was thoroughly curbed: he went to the root of the matter, and compelled them to reduce the number of their retainers by the practical method of fining them heavily if they kept more than the law permitted.

Although all retainers did not live with their lord, many were members of his household and fed at his table. His catering was therefore on a large scale, even when he had no visitors. Medieval nobles were, however, very hospitable, and entertained largely. The Earl of Warwick required six oxen daily for his household, and it was not unusual for him to have five hundred guests at once. Sir Harry Percy, the son of the Earl of Northumberland, had so spacious a town-house that he was able to entertain the king, two dukes, two earls and diverse others at the same time. Visitors of rank never came unattended, and so the host was obliged to provide for a great number of servants as well as their masters. The Duke of Buckingham celebrated the Feast of the Epiphany by a large party: over three hundred strangers sat down to dinner, and of the total number present only one hundred and thirty-four were gentry. This lavish hospitality could not fail to be a drain upon the financial resources of the Aristocracy,

and we find men of high position, like the Duke of Somerset (33 Henry VI), and the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) reduced to the necessity of borrowing money. Perhaps this lack of ready money was one of the reasons why nobles were willing to marry the daughters of rich merchants. Some of them replenished their purses by engaging in trade. Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland (1422–4), the Marquis of Suffolk (1445–6), Lawrence, Bishop of Durham (1459–60), and even members of the royal family were amongst those who received licences to export wool.

A few nobles, like Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the founder of the Bodleian Library, and Earl Rivers, the patron of Caxton, took an interest in literature. The Earl of Salisbury found time while he was fighting in France to request Lydgate to translate into English a noted French book, Deguileville's *Pelèrinage de la Vie Humaine*. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, called the "Butcher" on account of his cruelties in the Wars of the Roses, was himself a man of letters. These two last examples are particularly interesting because they show the union of widely differing characteristics in the same person. But the favourite pursuits of the majority of the nobles were hunting and fighting. The lives of their descendants in the present day, are in comparison with theirs, very quiet and humdrum, but much more respectable.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF TOWN LIFE

A STUDY of town life in the Middle Ages brings us into contact with one of the most interesting phases of social history, and reveals the manners and modes of thought of that class which is still the backbone of the nation. A small number of towns, founded by Edward I, were free from the beginning, but the majority were hampered in the early stages of their growth by services due to manorial lords. By degrees they shook off these disabilities, and in the later Middle Ages they possessed extensive powers of self-government: a few of them even had their own mints. They were treated with consideration and respect by the Crown: when Henry VII concluded a commercial treaty with Burgundy, he sent the document to all the chief towns in England, so that the mayors might affix the civic seals. The loans so frequently granted by towns to the king afford us a measure of their wealth, and also suggest one of the causes of their growing importance. The absorption of the nobles in warfare was another circumstance which favoured their development. With the single exception of the Cinque Ports, English towns did not form confederations like many of the German and Italian cities, but

each stood apart by itself, and carried on negotiations with its neighbours almost as if it were a separate state. The townsmen were completely taken up with their own affairs, and cared little for public business: their interests were municipal rather than national, and the prosperity of their town was of more moment to them than that of the country. To us who have a wider outlook, they may seem terribly narrow and self-centred, but their intense local patriotism was the result of their struggle for liberty, and without it they could not have won the victory.

The towns exercised with great vigour the rights they had gained. Within very vaguely defined limits they had legislative powers. They had no authority to contravene the law of the land, but they could supplement it. For example, when they were proclaiming the royal ordinance against unlawful games, they could add to the list of prohibited amusements some sport of which they especially disapproved. The Coventry Leet Book, which records the doings of the Leet of that town acting in the capacity of a Town Parliament, shows the subjects with which its by-laws dealt, and its methods of procedure. Like the Parliament at Westminster, the Leet based much of its legislation upon petitions presented to it. Many ordinances were passed concerning the repair of the roads, the sanitary condition of the town, its preservation against fire, and other precautions necessary for its material welfare. Much thought was devoted to the prevention and punishment of immorality. Sometimes the Leet seems to have been very grandmotherly: on one occasion it forbade any unmarried

woman, under the age of fifty, to take a house or room by herself, but required her to go into domestic service, on pain of a fine for the first offence and imprisonment for the second. This ordinance was, however, made a little less stringent a few years after it was passed. Its enactment proves that there was an appreciable number of single women amongst the working classes. There were also many regulations dealing with trade—the times and places at which goods might be sold, the weights and measures to be used, the penalties for adulteration of food and beverages, the prices which might be charged, and other details.

Towns also possessed their own lawcourts, and, often, very full judicial powers. Nottingham furnishes an example of their privileges in this respect—a charter granted by Henry VI entitled the burgesses to have a court in which cases arising out of contracts, covenants, breaches of the peace, and any other matter happening in the town, could be tried by the mayor (or his deputy) and the sheriffs. The mayor and a certain number of aldermen had power to hear and determine all manner of felonies, murders, trespasses, misprisions, and any other cause whatsoever pertaining to any Justice of the Peace. The burgesses were to have the fines paid by all offenders. The towns were very jealous of these rights, and bitterly resented any appeal from their jurisdiction to an outside court. Harry May, a merchant of Bristol, complained to the chancellor that he was deprived of the freedom of that city because he sued to him against its mayor and chamberlains. Towns decided cases brought before their courts according to

their own customary law, which sometimes differed considerably from the common law. For this reason, and because they are so varied, the borough customs are exceedingly interesting. For us their value lies chiefly in the indications they afford of the characters of their makers, and the light they throw upon the conditions of social life. Less definite and rigid than the common law, they give the impression that the burgesses were not quite so clear and consistent as the lawyers, but that they had an abundance of common sense. They were practical men, and thoroughly competent to effect the compromises so often needed in everyday life. Borough codes seem to show more desire than the common law to protect those who could not protect themselves, and to make more allowances for human weakness. These features are apparent in their treatment of women and children, and in the customs concerning wills. In London a widow, as long as she remained unmarried, had a right to what was called her " chamber," that is, the portion of her husband's tenement or dwelling-house which they had jointly occupied, but by the common law she could only stay in her husband's capital mansion for forty days after his death. The city of London also decreed that wills ought to be executed with due regard to the wishes of the testators, even though the words were defective or not according to the common law. On the other hand, we are appalled by the brutality of some of their punishments. Sandwich ordered that homicides should be buried alive, and that if a man banished for theft returned, his ear should be nailed to a cart-wheel with a fourpenny nail. Romney laid upon the accuser of a

felon the ghastly task of hanging the culprit, if he could not find a hangman.

It is a relief to turn to the penalties inflicted for more trivial offences: their aim seems to have been to make the culprit thoroughly ashamed of himself, and at the same time to provide an object-lesson which would deter his fellow-citizens from following his example; and they show a delightful sense of humour in fitting the punishment to the fault. Men were put in the stocks or the pillory for cheating and perjury, and often escorted to the place of punishment by pipers and trumpeters. A London vintner who had sold unsound wine was condemned to drink a draught of it himself, and the remainder was poured over his head: he was obliged to foreswear his calling, but, five years later, he was readmitted to the trade. Two imposters went about the city begging: they pretended to be dumb; and carried in their hands two ell measures, an iron hook and pincers, and a piece of leather shaped like a tongue, to signify that they were traders, who had been plundered of their goods by pirates, and whose tongues had been drawn out by the hook and cut off with the pincers. They were placed in the pillory three times, with these instruments round their necks, and afterwards imprisoned. Women, for similar misdemeanours, were put in the pillory or on the cucking-stool (the same kind of chair as was used for ducking): no doubt the jeers of the bystanders added greatly to the humiliation of these punishments. At Hereford, scolds were forced to stand in the public road, with their feet bare and their hair hanging about their ears. They were also imprisoned

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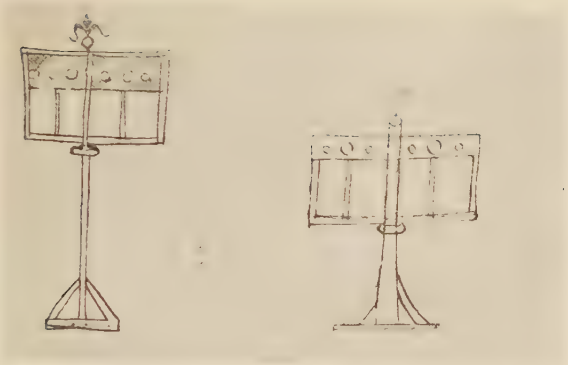

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1.—The Pillory in the Time of Edward III and Richard II.
Photographed from a facsimile of the Assisa Pains preserved at the Guildhall, London.

2.—Stocks in Use.
MS. Roy. 10 E. iv; Wright, *Domestic Manners*.

[To face p. 22.

until they had made redemption, at the will of the bailiff, and if they would not amend, they were cast out of the city. Truly the tongue was an unruly member in the Middle Ages. Some towns, however, resorted to the more prosaic method of fining offenders.

The mayor and the corporation upon whom the government of the town devolved were very important personages, and they brooked no aspersions on their dignity. The Mayor of London was invited to a banquet by the Sergeants of the Coif, and unfortunately they gave the Earl of Worcester precedence of him: he and his brethren immediately withdrew, and the chronicler, who describes the incident, applauds their method of upholding the honour of the city. They sternly suppressed fault-finding on the part of those whom they ruled—in Canterbury any one who spoke "any words of obloquy, slander and reproof" to the mayor paid a fine of £5 or suffered a year's imprisonment. Everything was done to increase the grandeur of their position; they were surrounded by the insignia of office, and wore gorgeous robes. They attended the Easter sermons with great pomp, for the citizens were very mindful of their religious duties: on Good Friday they were present at St. Paul's, in purple, and on the other days at the "Spittal," in scarlet, with their wives. The Mayor of Bristol received a yearly payment of £41 6*s.* 8*d.*, of which £20 represented his pension; five marks (£3 6*s.* 8*d.*) was allowed him for wine, and five marks for his minstrels, and the rest was spent on clothing.

In those days citizenship was no sinecure, and citizens could not shirk their responsibilities. A man who

refused to act as mayor or alderman, when the duty fell to his lot, was heavily fined. In London, and elsewhere, it was the business of all burgesses to come to the aid of the officers of the city, if they were needed, to arrest felons and other misdoers, and to help them in keeping the peace. Their services would be especially useful if riots broke out, as they did from time to time. In August, 1461, the Constables of Norwich were directed by the municipal authorities to warn the inhabitants who kept open shops in the streets, to have as many staves as they had men-servants in their shops for preserving the peace, and resisting rioters and rebels: 1461 was, it will be remembered, a very disturbed year.

Towns, especially those on the sea-coast and on the borders of Wales and Scotland, were liable to attack from outside foes, and they were obliged to be on the alert. Fines were levied for the up-keep of the walls and other fortifications, and they were maintained in good repair. The sum of £77 14*s.* 4*d.* was spent on fourteen and a half perches of the stone wall of Coventry and half a round tower, in 1430. There were butts belonging either to the corporation or to the crafts, and the citizens were enjoined to practise archery; many complaints were raised when they spent their leisure on less profitable sports. Stringent rules were drawn up in Hereford for procedure in time of siege—every one was to share in the watch and ward, and all were to bring forth their armour and provisions for the use of the city. In Sandwich, the great bell at St. Peter's Church was rung to summon the aldermen and their wards to come and defend the town. The efficiency of these citizen soldiers is attested by

notable examples. In 1497, the Cornish men rebelled under Lord Audley; according to Ricart, he had forty thousand men, and he sent to the Mayor of Bristol and demanded lodging and victuals for twenty thousand. The mayor refused and made ready to withstand the rebels. He "garnished the town walles with men harnessid (armed) and with gonnes," and brought ships "aboute the mersshe" filled with men, guns and artillery. When the rebels heard of these preparations, they changed their purpose and took another way. In the same year, Perkin Warbeck besieged Exeter with six thousand men; he managed to enter the town, and there was a hand-to-hand struggle in the streets, but the citizens, with the help of the Earl of Devonshire, who was with them, at last drove out their enemies. They were warmly commended by Henry VII.

Citizens had many privileges which compensated them for their arduous duties: in their own city they could buy and sell freely, while others were obliged to pay fines for licences to traffic. In Sandwich, freemen of the corporation could claim a share of all merchandise at the purchase or sale of which they were present. Other towns had similar customs, but in some cases the right was confined to goods brought by strangers. Many towns obtained for their citizens freedom from the payment of tolls of all kinds throughout the kingdom, both by sea and land. In all cases citizens could appeal to the civic authorities for assistance if they fell into difficulties in other towns—if they could not obtain payment of their debts, if their goods were wrongfully distrained, or if they were forced to plead in courts outside their

franchises. Not all the inhabitants of the towns shared in these privileges; they were withheld from not only those who were aliens in the modern sense of the word, but from any whom the city pronounced "outsiders"—persons belonging to a "foreign shire" or men owing suit to some other court, tenants, perhaps, of a neighbouring abbot, or of some lay-lord. Strangers could, however, often obtain the freedom of the city by marrying the widow or the daughter of a citizen, or by paying a considerable sum of money.

Gilds formed a very important element in town life. Almost every trade, or craft as it was called, had its gild which regulated the conditions of the industry, and gave assistance to members who fell into poverty through old age or misfortune. In these respects they resembled trades unions and friendly societies, but they differed from them in one fundamental point, they consisted, not of employés alone, but, generally, of both masters and men. Many gilds performed social and religious functions as well as their other duties, and some were entirely occupied with them. In the majority of towns, the mayor and corporation gained control of the gilds, in the fifteenth century. In Coventry, crafts could make no by-laws without the consent of the mayor; their wardens were obliged to bring their rules to him and the council, and those approved by them were kept, and the rest cast aside. In Bristol, too, we find gild after gild bringing its ordinances to the mayor for his sanction and confirmation. In 1437, Parliament required all gilds to register their charters before the Justices of the Peace, or the chief governors of cities, and forbade any change to be

made in them without the consent of these persons. Not only did the civic rulers supervise the ordinances of the gilds, but they also frequently acted as arbitrators when quarrels arose between crafts. Sometimes, however, gilds refused to submit to the authority of the mayor: in Exeter, a prolonged struggle was waged between the corporation and an especially powerful fraternity, the Tailors. Both sides appealed to the king, and both spent large sums of money on lawsuits. In the end the corporation had the advantage.

The townsman did not spend his whole time in toil; there were intervals for recreation even in his busy life, and he enjoyed them heartily. So big a subject as national sports and pastimes must be reserved for separate treatment, but some observances, especially characteristic of town life may be mentioned here. Such were the watches kept on the eves of the festivals of St. Peter and St. John, and the celebration of Corpus Christi Day. Religious devotion, civic pride, love of social intercourse and good cheer, all combined to make these occasions, and especially the last, red-letter days; for the medieval mind, simpler than our own, drew no sharp line of division between what was sacred and what was secular. On Corpus Christi Day there was a procession, in which all the gilds took part, and they also performed Corpus Christi plays. There was feasting all over the town, and rich and poor alike rejoiced. There were feastings and shows on other high days and holidays, but the towns surpassed themselves in pageantry when they entertained royal visitors. Fabyan gives a description of a welcome accorded to Henry VI by the Londoners, on

his return home after a visit to France, when he was only eleven years old. A few items will suffice to indicate the nature of the festivities. The mayor and his brethren, arrayed in scarlet, and the citizens in white with the badges of their crafts embroidered on their sleeves, met the king at Black Heath and escorted him into the city. On London Bridge stood a mighty giant with a drawn sword, who promised to bring all Henry's enemies to confusion. A little further on was a tower hung with silk and cloths of arras; out of it suddenly appeared three ladies, clad in gold and silk, with coronets on their heads. They represented Nature, Grace and Fortune; they made speeches, bestowing upon the king strength and fairness, science and "connynge," prosperity and riches. On either side of them were seven maidens clad in white, who presented to him, in a similar manner, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost and the seven gifts of grace. After they had thus saluted the king, they sang a welcome to him, a "roundell with an heuynly melodye." At the conduit in the Chepe there were divers wells—as the well of grace, and the well of mercy, at each of them a lady was standing who gave the water to any who asked for it, and it turned into good wine. About the wells were trees with leaves, and fruit such as oranges and almonds, and they were so cunningly wrought that to many they "apperyd naturall trees growynge." This delicious place was called Paradise. The compliments paid by the townsmen to their distinguished guests were not always very appropriate; we can hardly help smiling when we read that Coventry greeted the manly and fiery-spirited Margaret of Anjou as the Mother of Meek-

ness; but they were quite in earnest about it. Their loyalty was, however, often of little depth; during the Wars of the Roses many of them received Yorkists and Lancastrians with equally fervent demonstrations. Coventry was Lancastrian in the early part of the civil war, but after 1460 it turned to Edward IV; nevertheless, it supported Warwick against him. It welcomed Henry VII after the Battle of Bosworth, but it is said to have previously supplied Richard III with bread and ale; this point, however, is not quite certain.

The higher aspirations of the townsmen found fitting expression in the churches which they raised in their midst. Yet we cannot help suspecting that a wish to beautify the town mingled with their desire to glorify God. They built stately edifices, and adorned them in every possible way; not with sculpture and tracery only, but with painting and gilding, tapestry and embroidery, finely carved wood-work, and magnificent stained glass. When the sun poured in through the great windows there must have been a blaze of colour. The largest number of churches were built by the most prosperous towns, and we can tell from architectural evidence which districts were then most flourishing. The churches of Norfolk and Suffolk, so numerous, and often so much too big for their present congregations, remind us that these counties were once the home of a most profitable industry. The great Cotswold churches call up memories of the sheep-farmers and wool-merchants who worshipped within them, in the days when Cotswold wool was the finest in England, and English wool was the finest in the world.

The burghers were not content merely to provide thus for their spiritual needs, but they also built town halls and gild halls where municipal business could be transacted and the meetings of the crafts could be held. London, York and Coventry were among the towns which built halls of this kind in the fifteenth century. As far as we can judge from scanty remains, English municipal buildings were not as imposing as many on the continent, still they were beautiful enough to be great ornaments to the towns.

Market crosses were also beautified and enlarged in the later Middle Ages. They probably owed their importance in early days to the necessity of having some central, well-known place from which royal proclamations, and civic announcements could be read out to the public. As trade increased, a stone or wooden roof was erected round the cross, and acted as a shelter for buyers and sellers. A good example of a market cross of this kind may be seen at Salisbury, and a brisk trade is still carried on under its roof.

The medieval townsman was very narrow in his aims, very selfish, and sometimes very cruel in his exclusiveness, but his whole-hearted affection for his town, his anxiety for its welfare, and his pride in its beauty are delightful: they must have made his life very real and absorbing to him, and they make it very attractive to us.

Photo. *H. Chapman.*

THE CITY CROSS, SALISBURY.

[*To face p. 30.*

CHAPTER IV

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Professor Mahaffy, in his book on *Social Life in Greece*, calls the social position of women his "great test point," by which the civilization of a country may be judged. This opinion and the information he gives us about the progress of women in Greece are both very suggestive. A comparison of the status of women in different countries and at different times might not only furnish us with some of the causes of their advance or retrogression, but also throw light upon the institutions and national characteristics of the countries in question. Our inquiry into the position of women in the later Middle Ages, brief as it is, may perhaps supply a few data for such a purpose ; it will also enable us to see if they were better or worse off than women are at the present day.

In reading the *Early Chancery Proceedings* we are struck by the large number of cases which arose concerning the property of women—their goods, their lands, their manors, their tenements, their rents. It is obvious that many women must have possessed property of some kind. This state of affairs was partly due to the necessity laid upon parents of providing their daughters with dowries if they wished them to marry. A woman could

inherit her father's property, her sex was no bar to her succession. Her private rights and duties were the same as those of a man, as long as she was single, but the majority of the women who possessed property married ; and of those who remained unmarried many went into nunneries. A woman came of age when she was fourteen, though a man did not attain his majority till he was twenty-one.

The position of a married woman with respect to her property was far less satisfactory than it is now. The Act of 1882 put married women on the same footing as single ones in this respect, but in the Middle Ages the common law gave the husband ownership of his wife's chattels. He was entitled to the use of lands which came to her by inheritance, during her life in any case, and to the end of his, supposing he outlived her, provided that a child had been born to them, but Borough Customs did not always fully recognize this right. He could deal freely with lands which came to her as " purchase," if she gave her consent. Great care was taken to prevent pressure being brought to bear upon her : in Sandwich, and elsewhere also, the land could not be sold until she had made a declaration to the mayor, in the absence of her husband, that she freely consented to the transaction. In the petitions laid before the chancellor regarding the property of women, we find that many complaints were made by widows, and some by unmarried women. But married women seldom acted alone in such cases, the application was generally made by the husband and wife together, the husband's name appearing first. In 1344, Parliament declared that it was against

reason for married women to make wills, and the civil law only allowed them to do so with the consent of their husbands. But the Church fought for their rights in this respect, and their devise was clearly sanctioned by the customs of some towns. In the registry at Bury St. Edmunds there are five wills made by married women, bequeathing land as well as goods and chattels, and in only two of them is the consent of the husband mentioned. There are also other instances of married women's wills. On the other hand, wives had some compensating advantages; they had a certain right to their husband's land during wifehood, and actual possession of a portion of it, as dower, when they were widows.

The endowment of women with property gave them social standing and an importance which they would not otherwise have had. It was a practical way of providing for them, and we cannot help thinking that there were fewer destitute gentlewomen, in proportion to the population, then than there are now. The number of women in England, to-day, dependent on their own earnings probably exceeds the total number of women in England at that time, and we have a far more difficult problem to solve with respect to the future of our daughters than had our forefathers.

Although the possession of property was advantageous to women, it was also sometimes a source of danger to them. John Fursdon appealed to the Chancellor for help because an attack had been made upon his house, and his stepdaughter, the heiress of John Lanyem, carried off. Petitions of this kind are by no means rare;

one, in the *Rolls of Parliament*, declared that heiresses in all parts of the kingdom were, either by guile or by force, brought into the power of designing men who wished to make a profit out of them. These unfortunate women were either compelled to marry their captors contrary to their own desires, or to give them large sums of money: sometimes they suffered personal injuries of a kind too revolting to describe. Women in the twentieth century are, at any rate, safe from outrages such as these.

The powers of the husband over his wife's property might, perhaps, be taken as an indication that she was unable to manage it herself, but other evidence proves that women were not lacking in business capacity. In the fifteenth century people very often handed their land over to trustees, who held it "to their use," and administered it for their benefit. In the *Early Chancery Proceedings*, we find instances of women acting as "feoffees to uses," either by themselves or with co-trustees. There are one or two cases amongst the *Early Chancery Proceedings* of women presenting petitions on behalf of their husbands, who were imprisoned at the time. They were frequently appointed executors, and, as a result, weighty business sometimes devolved upon them. The widow of a Keeper of the Great Wardrobe and the widow of a collector of the King's customs, in the reign of Henry VII, presented accounts on behalf of their late husbands. A woman was often obliged to undertake much work which lay outside the sphere of domestic duties. Margaret Paston was entrusted with the most important affairs by her husband—she col-

lected rents, she kept clear accounts, and she managed his property, when she was in the midst of difficulties, and the greatest wariness was needed. More than once she outwitted his enemies, to his great delight, and he wrote in terms of the warmest praise to her. Isabel, the wife of James, Lord Berkeley, was another clever woman: when he was besieged in one of his castles, she looked after his lawsuits in London.

Women also shared in the industrial life of the times. The silk trade was almost entirely in their hands, and they were sufficiently influential to obtain from Parliament repeated enactments protecting them against the competition of imported goods. They made small articles such as ribands, laces, and girdles. Beer-brewing was carried on by women as well as men, and there were many female inn-keepers. Women were engaged in various branches of the cloth industry. The word spinster, which now has such a different meaning, dates back to the days when spinning was one of the commonest employments of women. Chaucer and Langland use many other words with characteristic feminine suffixes, which give us information as to the trades open to women: we find fruytesteres, female sellers of fruit, baxteres, female bakers, sywestere, a needlewoman, souteresse, a female shoe-maker, and dissheres, a female dish-seller. Women also took part in other industries: they could be candle-makers, hurers (cappers), wig-makers, book-binders, spicers, and, apparently, traders in all kinds of wares. Household Books allude to many purchases of cattle, poultry, fish, and other animals and commodities from women. An *Issue Roll* (44 Edward

III) mentions a payment for brooms and mats to a woman who bore the appropriate name of "Hawesia le Mattewife." Probably many of our surnames were originally titles indicating the occupations of their owners. Then as now women were domestic servants, laundresses and embroiderers. They were also employed as agricultural labourers in most of the processes of husbandry; and did unskilled work such as carrying clay, faggots, and water, gathering moss and heath, and serving masons and thatchers. Two women in the service of a fifteenth century iron-master broke up iron-stone and blew the bellows for the forge. In all cases their wages were much lower than men's.

Women did not shrink from foreign commerce, which perhaps required more enterprise, and certainly required more ready money than some of the avocations previously described. They exported goods to France, Spain and other countries. A widow, Margery Russell, of Coventry, is mentioned in no less than three different documents—her business must have been on a fairly large scale, for she was robbed of merchandise worth £800 by some men of Santander, in Spain. She obtained letters of marque which empowered her to seize the goods belonging to countrymen of the offenders, in order to recoup herself for her losses. She, apparently, took more than was due to her, for two Spanish merchants lodged complaints against her. She was ordered to restore both their ships, but one declared that she would not do it, although he had a commission directed to the Exchequer. Judging by her, women traders were well able to look after themselves.

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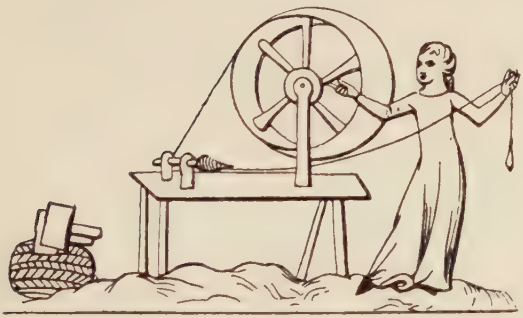


1.—A Woman Carding.

2.—A Woman Spinning.
MS. Roy. 10 E. iv; Wright, *Domestic Manners*

[*To face p. 36.*

Women were not excluded from the Gilds which organized and supervised various trades, but there is no proof that they figured prominently in them; we never hear of them as wardens or masters. The Barber-Surgeons of London admitted women to the freedom of their company, but did not allow them to be members of the livery. By an ordinance passed in London, in 1390, the masters of the craft were ordered to scrutinize not only men but also "women undertaking cures or practising the art of surgery." A few Gilds forbade the employment of women, on the ground that it threw men out of work, but this was unusual. Curiously enough, the statute of 1363, which ordered men to keep to one trade, left women free to practise as many as they pleased.

The rights and responsibilities of women traders were defined by the ordinances of many towns. Borough Customs varied, but in some towns they could trade independently even if married, and could bring pleas of debt in their own names. We find illustrations of these ordinances in the *Early Chancery Proceedings*; several petitions were brought before the Chancellor, against women as "sole merchants."

In a few instances at least, women in the later Middle Ages performed functions and held offices which do not fall to their lot nowadays. There are allusions to women burgesses in the records of London and other towns, and if they married aliens they could enfranchise them. We find too that they sometimes acted as churchwardens, a post which often entailed very heavy duties, including farming and trading, as well as keeping the parish accounts, managing parish entertainments, and repre-

senting it at the Archdeacon's court. They were occasionally entrusted with the charge of state prisoners, and once or twice they helped to collect loans for the king. Cicely, Duchess of Warwick, was hereditary Sheriff of Worcestershire, and the widow of Thomas (Mowbray), Duke of Norfolk, was *Countess Marshall*, and as such wore the robes of the Garter, on St. George's Day, 1386. But in other ways their position was not so satisfactory, another Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, we are told, had no place in Parliament, "by cause she was a woman." The authors of the *Status of Women* have noticed that women's seals are attached to some of the indentures of the election of knights of the shire for Yorkshire, in the early fifteenth century, before elections were systematized by the Act of 1430. But even if they occasionally voted, there is no proof that their right to do so was legally recognized; the point never seems to have been raised.

When we turn from the facts of actual life to their reflection in literature, and try to discover what the writers of our period thought of women, we are faced by conflicting opinions. Whereas some writers praise them inordinately, others blame them with equal vehemence. The exaltation of women was the outcome of the maxims of chivalry; here we have woman as the mistress, the queen, the object of worship to her devout lover. He is ready to live or die in her service, and addresses the most fervent protestations of affection to her, like the knight who loved "la belle dame sans mercy,"—

> "I can nat deserve
> To have your grace, but always live in drede,

Yet suffre me you for to love and serve
Without maugrê of your most goodlihede;
Both faith and trouth I give your womanhede,
And my servyse, withoute ayein-calling,
Love hath me bounde, withouten wage or mede,
To be your man, and leve al other thing."

Unfavourable opinions of women are often found in conjunction with a tirade against marriage, and seems largely due to a desire to inculcate celibacy. Jeun de Meun, who completed the *Roman de la Rose*, did much to bring them into prominence, and later writers copied him. In one of the most famous chapters of this remarkable book a jealous husband rails at marriage as an evil bond, and at the behaviour of his wife, declaring that she wears fine clothes and amuses herself with other men in his absence. He abuses her and women in general,—

"A virtuous woman! Nay, I swear
By good St. Denis, that's more rare
Than is a phœnix."

From insults he goes on to blows, and finally seizes her by her hair, shakes her, and drags her round the room, regardless of her shrieks, and vows of innocence, until the neighbours hearing the noise come to her rescue. The writer does not, however, ignore the woman's side of the question, but describes her disappointment at the difference between the lover who was her slave and the husband who is her master. In these two cases we have expressions of two extreme views, neither of them must be taken too seriously as a reproduction of the facts of real life, for both are obviously exaggerations, but they are worthy of some attention as illustrations of current ideas.

Both these views can be seen in Chaucer's works. He himself apologizes for writing of the misdeeds of women, especially in his translation of the *Romauns of the Rose,* and in *Troilus and Cresside* ; he tells us he wrote the *Legend of Good Women* as an atonement for them. The first of these poems, as we have it, is only a fragment ; and he certainly did not linger over his account of the falseness of Cressida, but told it as briefly as he could, and threw the responsibility of it upon " stories elles-where." His worst offence is his delineation of the Wife of Bath. It is not only that she is coarse and vulgar, the embodiment of the lower instincts of human nature, but that she has the meanest of failings—she betrays the weaknesses of her own sex, merely for the pleasure of doing it. In fairness to Chaucer, however, we must remember that it was his business to describe all kinds of people good and bad, and we must make allowances for the dramatic instinct ; it is she and not he who speaks, and she does not necessarily express his opinions. The *Legend of Good Women* consists of stories of Cupid's martyrs—women who died for love. To kill oneself in despair, or to die of grief, because one cannot attain the object of one's desires is a sign of weakness not of strength, and to us Chaucer seems to have chosen rather an odd way of extolling women, but there is no doubt of the sincerity of his wish to praise them. Inconstancy was the commonest accusation brought against women, and the one which rankled most deeply, and so it was against this charge that he defended them. The character of woman is still a subject of discussion ; but it is with her intellectual capacity rather than her moral

1.—Chaucer's Wife of Bath.
2.—Chaucer's Prioress.
Ellesmere MS.; Green, *Short History of the English People* (Illd. Edn.).

[*To face p. 40.*

qualities that we are concerned. Is this a proof that she has been acquitted on the earlier charge, or merely an indication that mankind has shifted its point of view and now cares more for mental than for moral excellency? In other poems Chaucer has given us some really fine types of womanhood: of Constance, in the *Tale of the Man of Law*, he says—

> "In hir is heigh beautee, with-oute pryde,
> Yowthe, with-oute grenehede or folye;
> To alle hir werkes vertu is hir gyde,
> Humblesse hath slayn in hir al tirannye.
> She is mirour of alle curteisye;
> Hir herte is verray chambre of holinesse,
> Hir hand, ministre of fredom for almesse."

Patient Griselda combined "wyfly hoomlinesse" with judgment "of so greet equitee" that—

> "Ther nas discord, rancour, ne hevinesse
> In al that lond, that she ne coude apese,
> And wysly bringe hem alle in reste and ese."

A few words should perhaps be said of the two poets whom Chaucer's contemporaries ranked with him—Lydgate and Gower. In his *Troy Book*, Lydgate quotes the extremely uncomplimentary remarks made about women by Guido delle Colonne, in his *Historia Destructionis Troiæ* (written about 1287), but as his work professes to be a translation of Guido's, he could not do otherwise, and he takes care to explain that he does not agree with his predecessor. He himself praises women very highly in this book and in many of his others; indeed we are almost overwhelmed with the numbers of good qualities possessed by the "Lady" in the *Temple*

of Glas; but he had a happy inspiration when he made Venus bid the lover to have in reverence all women for his lady's sake. Perhaps his prettiest description of a woman is that of the lady he calls the Flour of Curtesye —wise and demure, yet so bright and kindly

> "That every wight, of high and low degree,
> Are gladde in herte with her for to be."

She possesses the truly womanly virtue of pity—

> "For she aloon is consolacioun
> To al that arn in mischeef and in nede,
> To comforte hem, of her womanhede."

Gower's picture of the lady of his heart, in the *Confessio Amantis* is a clever piece of character drawing, for though we only have a few glimpses of her at rare intervals, she stands out as distinctly as if he had given us pages of detailed description. He makes us feel her charm and her goodness. We see her busying herself with household duties, listening to him reading romances, taking her offering to church. She is always kind and tactful, dignified and self-reliant without a touch of harshness. In spite of the artificial setting of the tale, she is perfectly natural.

A little poem printed amongst the *Songs and Carols of the Fifteenth Century* reminds us of a doctrine which we must take into account in estimating the position of women. The poem sets forth the virtues of women, and, at the end of every few lines, there is a refrain "Wytnesse of Marie." The worship of the Virgin Mary must, we think, have tended to raise the popular conception of womanhood. Nevertheless it did not entirely overcome prejudices against women, and many

poems contain passages which are very uncomplimentary to them.

The part played by English women as writers, at this time, was very small. A celebrated ballad, *The Nut-brown Maid*, purports to be by a woman. If this be true, the ballad is especially interesting because it shows what a woman thought women ought to be. Like the *Legend of Good Women*, it is written to prove that they could love faithfully. The lover of the Nut-Brown Maid, in order to test her constancy, pretends that he has been condemned to a shameful death, and must fly to the green wood alone, a banished man. She declares that she will go with him, and though he paints lurid pictures of the perils and hardships awaiting her, she will not be dissuaded. At last he tells her that he intends to take another maiden with him, whom he loves better than her. Far from resenting the insult, she meekly replies that she will go too, and be the servant of her rival, and says she would do the same if there were a hundred more. If a medieval woman would have acted thus she must have been very different from her modern sisters; but we believe that the humility of the Nut-brown Maid is overdrawn. A dainty little poem called *The Flower and the Leaf*, once ascribed to Chaucer, is thought by Professor Skeat to have been written by a woman. It is pretty and simple, and contains some charming descriptions of nature, and of knights and ladies. A somewhat similar poem, *The Assembly of Ladies*, probably by the same author, a devotional work, *Revelations of Divine Love*, by an anchoress Juliana of Norwich, and possibly that part

of the *Boke of St. Albans* which deals with hunting, by a somewhat mythical Juliana Berners, complete the short catalogue of works by women.

If we compare the position of women in the later Middle Ages with that of women to-day, we find that married women were then far worse off than they are now, both in private and in business life, but widows were better off, because a reasonable share of their husbands' property was assured to them after his death. A surprisingly large number of callings were open to women, and they availed themselves freely of openings in agricultural and industrial pursuits. A much larger proportion of them than of the women of the present day appear to have engaged in agriculture, and in rough unskilled labour, but very few indeed took up literary work. The advance which women have made in this respect is no doubt due to the greater facilities for education now within their reach. As regards public functions women seem to have lost ground in some ways; they are no longer church-wardens or sheriffs; and—Florence Nightingale excepted—they rarely receive the freedom of their city; but this, it should be remembered, was then a qualification necessary for all who wished to trade under the most favourable conditions, not merely an honour reserved for a few distinguished persons. The personal safety and comfort of women, however, rests upon a firmer basis than it did in the past; they may not be treated with the humble deference which romances of chivalry lead us to suppose medieval women received, but they are much more secure from personal indignities and out-

rages. An heiress is not now obliged to marry in order to obtain a protector for herself and her property. Even Malory gives us some hints of the darker side of life,—as King Arthur and Guenever sat at their wedding feast, and all the Knights of the Round Table with them, a lady came into the hall to claim a dog which belonged to her. A knight followed her and took her away by force, and she cried and made great moan. "When she was gone the king was glad, because she made such a noyse," and he would not have sent any one to rescue her if Merlin had not suggested it to him. Few women of the twentieth century would, we think, care to change places with those of the later Middle Ages.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION

The power of the Church in the Middle Ages and its influence over the nation were very great—greater, or at least exercised in a more direct manner, than they are now. For this there were many reasons, some inherent in the nature of the Church itself, some due to the condition of the laity. In England, at the present day, there are many religious communities, both Christian and non-Christian, each free to formulate its own creed and to choose its own mode of worship. In the Middle Ages there was but one Church in England, and all Christians who did not conform to its doctrines were considered heretics and outcasts, and incurred the most severe punishments, even (after 1401) death in one of its most horrible forms. There were, it is true, different branches of the Church—regular and secular clergy, and different orders of monks and friars —and there was great rivalry, and even enmity, between them; but they all held the same beliefs, they all acknowledged the same head. Those who were not Christians were not allowed, except in the case of a few favoured individuals, to live in England. The Jews were expelled from the country in the reign of Edward I, and did not return until after the close of our period.

The lack of freedom of thought, the absence of any conception of religious toleration, must have had a pernicious effect both upon the Church and upon society at large, and it became more and more of a hardship as the capabilities of the laity developed.

The political position of the Church was stronger then than it is to-day, although religious teachers still have many opportunities of guiding the trend of political thought. The medieval clergy were not only predominant in the House of Lords, but they possessed in their convocations two taxing and legislative assemblies of their own. There, and not at Westminster, they voted their supplies for the king.

The Church by means of its judicial powers wielded an immense influence over the nation. It had an elaborate system of ecclesiastical courts which dealt not only with the spiritual offences of the clergy, and with felonies committed by them, but also with many cases in which laymen were involved. It enforced the payment of church dues; it took cognizance of matrimonial suits, and decided questions of legitimacy. It judged testamentary causes concerning movables, and some disputes regarding breaches of faith, in spite of the protests of the civil courts. It claimed the right to correct the sinner for his soul's health, and on this ground punished sexual immorality, defamation, and simony. Usury, perjury, and assaults upon the clergy sometimes fell within its province, and it tried persons accused of heresy, but handed them over to the secular arm for execution, if they were condemned to death. In addition to the exercise of the ordinary ecclesiastical

jurisdiction, the bishop and the archdeacon, or those who took their places, went about making visitations, and their inquiries included matters like the up-keep of the fabric of the church, and the repair of service-books, as well as the behaviour of the parishioners. Some specimens of the judicial proceedings of the Official of the Convent of Durham, which had archi-diaconal jurisdiction over the churches and parishes appropriated to it, have been published by the Surtees Society, and they show the control possessed by the Church over the private lives of the people. Two women were condemned to fustigations because they had washed linen on St. Mary Magdalen's day. The wife of Thomas Johnson was reported as disobedient to her husband, and very stubborn. But the majority of cases deal with offences against the marriage laws. Sometimes the courts Christian clashed with the civil courts, and a conflict between them took place. John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered that all who prevented their tenants coming to his courts, for correction of their crimes of excesses, or proof of wills, should be excommunicated. Nevertheless, many years after his death, the clergy were still complaining that their rights were infringed. The towns made repeated but ineffectual attempts to obtain the probate of the wills of citizens; but, as we have seen, they sometimes punished irregularities of conduct themselves. We find amongst the *Early Chancery Proceedings* suits dealing with refusals to pay tithes, breaches of faith, the forgery and non-fulfilment of wills, and even with evils arising out of matrimonial disputes. A plea was brought

against the vicar of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, for refusing to allow prayers to be offered up for the soul of Thomas Duke, in the chantry of the said church, according to his will. We cannot help thinking that the reference to the Chancery of so many cases which might have been tried by the ecclesiastical courts is a sign that their jurisdiction was not satisfactory. There are, in the *Rolls of Parliament*, many complaints of the extortion and oppression of their officials with respect to the probate of wills, which find an echo in the words of the anonymous author of the *Plowmans Tale*—

> "For who-so woll prove a testament
> That is natt all worth ten pound,
> He shall paye for the parchëment
> The third part of the money all round."

The penalties prescribed by the courts Christian were of the nature of spiritual discipline—the recitation of penitential prayers, performance of pilgrimages, or the public infliction of corporal punishment. If the culprit refused to carry out his penance, he was excommunicated, and if that did not reduce him to submission, he was handed over to the secular arm. There is in the *Register of William of Wykeham* a mandate, addressed to the deans of Southwark and Ewell, and the rectors of Streatham and St. George's, Mitcham, to enforce penance on three laymen who had arrested a fugitive, who had taken sanctuary in the porch of the parish church, and led him away to gaol. On three consecutive Sundays they were to walk in the procession, stripped to their shirts and drawers, and carrying lighted tapers; one of the persons charged with imposing the penance

flagellating them with a rod, and declaring the cause of their penance to the people; after which they were to kneel in the middle of the church at High Mass and repeat the Magnificat in audible voices, and pray forgiveness. This was to be done at Streatham, St. George's, Mitcham, and at Mitcham parish church, on successive Sundays. Money payments were often substituted for penances, and serious evils resulted from the practice. According to Chaucer, the Somnour, whose business it was to summon delinquents to the church courts, would overlook offences for a year for a quart of wine, and would warn "a good felawe" not to fear the Archdeacon's curse, for he would only be punished in his purse. The *Plowmans Tale* put the matter even more plainly: a man, it says, may use his sin from day to day so long as his purse will bleed. It also declares that if a man be falsely accused he is forced to pay "raunsoun' though he be perfectly guiltless. It seems that other people besides the Somnour made a profit out of procuring cases for the ecclesiastical courts. Matilda de Paris, according to an entry in one of the Norwich Leet rolls, was a common touter of the Dean and caused many men and women to lose their money wrongfully. Wyclif bitterly denounced both "sin-rents" and the sale of indulgences. It seems only too clear that the clergy shamefully misused the enormous power they possessed as censors of public morals, and that as a consequence the public conscience was blunted.

Another jealously guarded privilege was the right of churches to shelter those in danger of life and limb who came to them for safety. Every church and

churchyard had certain temporary rights, but in some cases they extended for an indefinite period of time, and over a far wider area than the actual consecrated site. Once within the sacred precincts fugitives were secure from pursuit, for it was sacrilege to drag any one from sanctuary. Criminals who had thus thrown themselves upon the protection of the Church might, if they wished, abjure the realm, and then they were allowed to go unmolested to some port assigned to them, whence they were obliged to take the first ship available, and to leave the kingdom for ever. The chance of escaping the consequences of crimes tended, we fear, to increase the number committed. The Commons, in a petition to the King in Parliament, declared that robbers and murderers spent their days comfortably in St. Martin's le Grand (London), and sallied forth at night to perpetrate more thefts and murders.

There can be little doubt that the clerical profession was popular; the proportion of the population which took Holy Orders was astonishingly large, as we can see from ordination lists in episcopal registers. To quote one example chosen at random, Thomas de Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, in one year, (March, 1372–3 to December, 1373), ordained over five hundred persons, in his diocese alone. But many of those who were ordained in the Middle Ages were clerks in minor orders, below the rank of deacon, and often they did not advance any further, but practically lived as laymen. Among Bishop Brantyngham's candidates eighty-eight were made deacons and eighty-five priests. During the thirty-seven years that William of Wykeham was

bishop of Winchester he ordained 1,334 acolytes, 1,382 sub-deacons, 1,360 deacons, and 1,273 priests. Not all fully qualified clerics could obtain livings, and many acted as the assistants or deputies of parish priests, or were employed as chaplains by noblemen. The number of licences for oratories in small hamlets and manor-houses granted by the bishops is quite extraordinary. There were also numerous chantry priests, mainly occupied in saying prayers for the souls of the dead.

The clergy were drawn from all ranks of society. Villeins were forbidden to enter the Church, but they often obtained exemption from the prohibition, and sometimes the bishop manumitted them just before they were ordained. The best posts were given, as a rule, to members of the aristocracy, but men of humble birth could rise even to the primacy. The social standing of the various grades of clerics differed very much: great churchmen were on a level with the nobility, and kept up quite as much state as lay peers. Private chaplains were hired servants and received wages from their masters like other household servants. Parish priests held a position midway between these two extremes.

A word or two must be said about the wealth of the Church, for then as now money was a source of power. It was, as a body, very rich: three times between 1395 and 1410 the Commons suggested that its temporalities should be confiscated and devoted to secular purposes. A list of wealthy clergy drawn up in support of one of these proposals shows that the bulk of its property was in the possession of the greater monasteries, and of

Dns Richardus de Threton.
Book of the Benefactors of St. Albans. Cott. MS. Nero, D. vii;
Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages.*

Rectory Farm, Chesterton, Cambs., Fifteenth Century.

[*To face p.* 53.

ecclesiastics who held several appointments at the same time. It is not easy to make any general statement as to the income of parish priests; they must have differed in different localities, and have varied from time to time. Much would depend upon whether the living was appropriated to a religious house; in that case the monastery would have a large share of the issues. Part of the parson's income was derived from land attached to the benefice, and part from tithes of all kinds—of grain, live stock, butter, cheese, milk and eggs, merchandise, and handicrafts—and some of these would be affected by a bad season and by fluctuations in trade. In one of the *Early Chancery Proceedings* it is asserted that the church profits rendered to the parson of King's Swinford (Stafford), during a period of eight weeks, consisted of twelve stone of tithe wool, offerings to the value of 6*s.* 8*d.*, tithe hay worth forty shillings, and an ox which had been a mortuary.[1] The church of Battersea, now such a populous suburb of London, was valued at £17 10*s.* and the vicarage at £4 3*s.* 4*d.* in *William of Wykeham's Register*. The churches in Bristol, according to an inquiry made early in the reign of Henry VI for the purposes of taxation, were worth on an average £11 7*s.* But in judging this matter we must remember that there were many calls upon the incomes of parish priests if they did their duty thoroughly: they were expected to give generous alms to the poor, and to entertain strangers. Rectors

[1] In many places it was customary to give the parson one of the best chattels (often the second-best beast or garment) belonging to the person he buried, and it was called a mortuary.

were usually responsible for the repair of the office books and of the desks in the chancel. They paid taxes to the King, and in addition Peter's Pence, procurations to the Archdeacon, and other ecclesiastical dues.

The clergy not only made their influence felt through their judicial and pastoral functions, but they also played a part in educational work, but this we shall consider when dealing with that subject.

Thus it will be seen that the relations between the clergy and laity were very intimate, and that they were always coming into contact with each other. In the present day, a dweller in one of our crowded cities, could, if he wished, easily go through life without coming into personal touch with any minister of religion, in his professional capacity. Such a thing would not have been possible in the Middle Ages: no one was allowed to stay away from church, or even to choose his own place of worship, but every one was obliged to attend his parish church. All were enjoined to confess at least once a year, and those who died intestate and unconfessed were considered guilty of a form of spiritual suicide, which debarred them from all hopes of redemption. Consequently the character of the clergy was a matter of vital importance to the nation. On the whole they were better educated than the laity: the earlier episcopal registers show that many of them studied at Oxford, though the numbers declined during the later part of our period. There is, however, abundant evidence that their behaviour left much to be desired. Many of the prelates devoted themselves far more to secular affairs than to their spiritual duties:

in 1371 the Commons asked that only lay persons might be appointed to great offices of state, because the government of the kingdom had long been in the hands of churchmen, whereby great evils had arisen. Chaplains often acted as men of business to their patrons, and country parsons did a little farming to eke out their incomes. It is rather startling to find clerics and monks collecting taxes, and bishops excommunicating those who would not pay them, but it was perhaps only the logical outcome of their right to make money grants in their own assemblies, and of the exemption of their spiritualities from lay control. The numerous licences for non-residence granted by the bishops to their clergy prove that the statements of the Commons in Parliament with respect to this abuse were not exaggerated. The system of pluralities was at its height. The frequent occurrence of these practices may be seen by studying the history of a single parish. The records of Market Harborough show that the church of Great Bowden never had a resident rector in priest's orders at all until William of Wolstanton was instituted in 1391. His predecessors, the editors explain, were "either dignified pluralists, or practically laymen, having just sufficient of an ecclesiastical character to enable them to hold ecclesiastical revenues." One of them, Geoffrey le Scrope, held three other benefices at the same time, and was, as well, canon of Lincoln, where he resided for thirty-four weeks out of the year. The successor of William of Wolstanton was also non-resident, and John Kelyng, who died in 1474, was another absentee. The nominal holders of the living

took the greater part of the profits, and left the work to substitutes.

The clergy were, it is to be feared, sometimes guilty of even more serious offences: charges of forgery, theft and assault are brought against them in the *Early Chancery Proceedings*, and there are hundreds of cases in which they are accused of refusing to restore land with which they had been entrusted. One or two examples of misdeeds attributed to them may be cited. John Claypole, parson of Wotton, beside Northampton, declares that Sir Henry Bylok, priest, by the help of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, kept him out of his church and laid in wait to slay him, in spite of the order of the Court of Arches (one of the courts of the Archbishop of Canterbury). Claypole dares not proceed against his adversary for fear of Lord Grey. An enraged father complains to the Chancellor that William Roddok, priest, "a lymme of the devyll," enticed away his daughter, contrary to all virtue. In estimating the value of the *Early Chancery Proceedings* as evidence against the clergy, we must bear in mind that in many cases the answer of the defendant and the verdict of the judge have perished, so that we only have unproved charges; but the fact that there are so many of them is in itself worthy of note. We should think it a great scandal nowadays if our clergy appeared in the police-courts in these numbers. Unfortunately we have corroborative evidence as to the crimes and misdemeanours of the clergy in Town Records, Bishops' Registers, and Patent Rolls; and the entries in these documents include some accounts of the imposition of

penances, and pardons. We ought, however, also to remember that while we have records of the misdeeds of the clergy, their good deeds would not necessarily call for comment, and many of whom we have no knowledge may have been living holy and useful lives, but a very great many of them would be needed to counterbalance all their erring brethren, and it cannot be denied that the Church as a whole was in a very bad state. Chaucer, with his usual fair-mindedness, has shown that there were both good and bad amongst the clergy. In his poor parson of a town he has given us a description of a man of most beautiful character—

> "Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
> And in adversitee ful pacient;"
> * * * * *
> "And though he holy were, and vertuous,
> He was to sinful man nat despitous,"
> * * * * *
> ". . . Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
> He taughte, and first he folwed it him-selve."

But it would be as ridiculous to take him as typical of the clergy of the day, as to say that all husbandmen at that time were like his brother, the "Plowman." Chaucer himself, even in praising his ideal pastor, seems to infer that not by any means all the clergy shared his virtues, and to hold up to scorn those who were less worthy—

> "Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes,"
> * * * * *
> "He sette nat his benefice to hyre,
> And leet his sheep encombred in the myre,

> And ran to London, un-to seynt Poules,
> To seken him a chaunterie for soules,"
> * * * * *
> "He was a shepherde and no mercenarie."

One of the great causes of the moral laxity of ecclesiastics was their right to claim "benefit of clergy," a privilege which entitled bishops to demand from the civil authorities clerics who had been imprisoned by the King's justices for any crime. Three persons were appointed for this purpose by Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1401–7). By this means the clergy escaped death and mutilation, however heinous their crimes, for these punishments could not be inflicted by ecclesiastical tribunals, and they might be let off with very slight penances. An example will explain the process better than any description. William Ferys, clerk, of Wells, was accused of breaking into the house of John Touker, on two occasions, and stealing cloth to the value of 12*s*. He alleged that he was not guilty, so he was taken, and incarcerated, but afterwards delivered by the justices to the ecclesiastical officials. Bishop Bowett ordered that he should be admitted to purgation, after proclamation had been made, in case any person wished to accuse him or to oppose his purgation. The process of purgation was quite simple, the accused clerk swore that he was innocent of the charge, and a number of credible persons swore that they believed him to be speaking the truth. He was then dismissed as not guilty. In 1444, the Commons brought forward a case of a clerk who had made a false confession of felony, in order to avoid the payment of a debt: he

had been handed over to the Ordinary and it was feared that the creditor might lose his money. In 1449, they asked that no clerk might be allowed to purge himself more than once, for many purged themselves and then committed fresh crimes, and none dared to accuse them for fear of their vengeance. These instances show the ways in which the privilege might be abused; unfortunately it was not confined to those who were really in the priesthood, but could be claimed by clerks in minor orders, and it was probably this class which did most to discredit the Church.

The effect produced upon the laity by the shortcomings of the clergy was very great, and it is clear that their traditional reverence for the Church, though founded upon centuries of spiritual subjection, was gradually being undermined. Satirists and moralists criticised the conduct of the clergy very severely, and it is very striking that Pecock, himself a bishop and the most enlightened man of his age, should have thought it necessary to write a vindication of them. He takes it for granted that there is a feeling of hostility towards them, and curiously enough he does not ask "the lay party" to cease blaming them, but is contented with pointing out that it ought only to be done "in al pacience and doctrine." From other sources also we receive the impression that the clergy were not beloved by the people. More than once priests complain to the Chancellor that juries are prejudiced against them, and will not do them justice. *The Bishop's Registers* and the *Early Chancery Proceedings* contain many accounts of assaults made, or injuries inflicted, upon

them. Sometimes it is stated that the assailant was angry because penance had been imposed upon him, but more often no cause is assigned for the act of violence. Minute details are sometimes given, and they throw an unpleasant light upon the relations of pastors and their flocks. William Russell, vicar of Mere, declares that one of his parishioners assaulted him, in his church, on the Friday in Passion week, beat him, and set a dog on to him, which bit him in the arm in three places, and dragged him down to the ground. He was nearly murdered, but he "smote the saide dogge with the chyrche dore key vnder his ere (ear), and with that the saide dogge departed." Another parson tells a long rigmarole of squabbles with his parishioners, which culminated in their accusing him of complicity when the church was robbed. They drew him, he says, violently out of the church, "sette hym openly and shamefully in the stokkes," and afterwards imprisoned him.

Very serious attacks were made by the Lollards upon the doctrines of the Church. Their movement acquired considerable magnitude in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and the beginning of the fifteenth. They broke into open revolt in 1414 and 1431, and were in consequence very sternly repressed by the Government. From this time their progress is very difficult to trace, and it is still more difficult to estimate their influence upon the religious thought of the period. The nation as a whole does not seem to have been greatly affected by their teaching: the practices of which they most strongly disapproved were not discontinued. Pil-

grimages were as popular as ever, indulgences were purchased in large numbers, and almost every will directed that prayers should be said for the souls of the dead. But no doubt the hostility which Pecock deprecated was largely due to them. Mr. Trevelyan, who has devoted much careful attention to the subject, believes that Lollardy did a very great deal to prepare the way for the religious changes of the sixteenth century. In any case it is exceedingly interesting as one of the first symptoms of that sturdy independence of thought, that determination to form his own religious convictions, which has since become so inherent a characteristic of an Englishman. Thus in the later Middle Ages, the moral and intellectual superiority of the clergy and the submissiveness of the laity, the two principal causes of the extraordinary influence exerted by the Church over the people, were both passing away, and it was inevitable that a new order of things should replace the old.

CHAPTER VI

SOME ASPECTS OF MONASTIC LIFE

A KNOWLEDGE of the characteristic features of Monastic Life in the centuries immediately preceding the era of the Reformation is of especial value, not because they were in themselves particularly interesting, but because they led up to that era. The subject, however, is so vast that we can only hope to touch upon one or two aspects of it, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to those which bear most directly upon the mode of life of the religious orders.

The number of convents in England at the close of the Middle Ages was very large—counting monasteries, friaries and nunneries together,—between six and seven hundred. The rules of the different orders varied slightly, and conditions of life also depended to some extent upon the size and resources of the respective houses, but they had many features in common.

A large and wealthy monastery was a very imposing institution and very elaborately organized. Its head, the Abbot, or in some cases the Prior, was not only an absolute ruler within his own domain, but also a person of great social weight outside it. He often had a house apart from the monks and a large staff of servants of his own. The residence of the Prior of Durham was

ADAM THE CELLARER.
Cott. MS. Nero, D. vii.

SECTION OF THE ABBOT'S HOUSE, WENLOCK ABBEY.

A *The Hall, or Refectory, with its roof.*
B *Kitchen.*
C *The Abbot's Parlour*
D *Breakfast.*
E *Dormitory.*
F *Dormitory in the roof.*
G *Apartment, with locker.*
H *Ditto.*
I *Staircase leading to all three stories.*
J *Ditto, leading to the gallery and principal rooms.*
K *Oratory, with altar.*
L *Apartment underneath.*
M *Ditto.*
N *Wardrobe.*
O *Cell.*
P *Staircase leading to the Abbot's Dormitory.*

Photos. *Donald Macbeth.*

Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England.*

[*To face p. 63.*

quite palatial, and he travelled about the country with a large retinue, and stayed at his various manors. In this instance the Bishop was the nominal head of the priory, but the government and administration fell mainly upon the prior, and, when he was in his monastery, his work must have been very heavy. In his absence the Sub-prior was responsible for general order, and in large monasteries there was often a third, and sometimes even a fourth, prior. Beneath them were a host of other officials, who were called obedientaries. Some were attached to the church, like the Sacrist to whom was entrusted everything pertaining to the services, except the music, which was under the charge of the Precentor, and the Anniversarian who arranged the memorial services of benefactors. Others managed the business connected with the upkeep of the establishment; amongst these the most important were the Receiver to whom the rents of all the estates not apportioned off to the support of separate offices were paid, the Hordarian who had charge of the material resources of the convent, providing bread, beer, meat, and fish for the refectory, the Refectorian who received the stores from the Hordarian, and passed them on to the cook, the Chamberlain who was responsible for the furniture, and for the care of the different chambers and halls of the monastery, and the Cellarer and Curtarius (sometimes one monk held the two offices) who looked after the wine, beer, cider, mead, and various outbuildings. To the Custos Operum belonged the duty of superintending the repairs both of the church and of the monastery. Nor must we omit to mention the Almoner, Infirmarius,

Master of the Novices, and the Guest-master, whose names sufficiently explain their duties. Such was the arrangement in the Priory of St. Swithun's, Winchester, which may be regarded as a typical Benedictine monastery. The number of the monks was originally sixty to sixty-five, but it was reduced by the pestilences of 1349 and 1361 to forty, and dropped to thirty by 1487, so that nearly half the monks were obedientaries.

Monasteries employed a large number of lay servants under the direction of the obedientaries; there were eighty-six at St. Peter's, Gloucester, on the eve of the Dissolution, and only thirty monks. At Bicester Priory, at a much earlier date, there were twenty-five to thirty, for a community consisting of a Prior, eleven canons, clerks of the chapel, and novices. In addition to indoor servants such as cooks, butlers, bakers, millers, chandlers, brewers, there were barbers, laundresses, tailors, masons, and carpenters, whose services were frequently required, and farm servants of all kinds. It is therefore not possible that any manual labour could have devolved upon the monks except in unusually poor monasteries.

Monastic buildings were, as we can see from their ruins, often very extensive; the most important of them were the church, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the dormitory or dorter where the monks slept, and the hall or refectory where they had their meals. Their life was, except in the case of the Carthusians who dwelt in separate cells, a very sociable one—they worshipped together, slept together, ate together—indeed, we cannot help suspecting that they must sometimes have longed

for a little privacy. Some of the obedientaries, such as the cellarer, did, however, have their own apartments, especially in large abbeys like Reading and Glastonbury. The establishment also included guest chambers, an infirmary for sick monks, a kitchen and the usual domestic offices, a bake-house, brew-house, slaughter-house, stables, laundry, a mill, and probably workshops for carpenters, plumbers, tailors, and others, for monasteries aimed at being self-supporting. Their own conduits brought them fresh water which was invaluable for the purposes of drainage, and generally there was a garden, and last, but by no means least, a fish-pond, which supplied the monastery with fresh-water fish.

From existing remains and from documentary evidence we can gain a good deal of information as to the size of their rooms and other points. The hall at St. Swithun's was forty feet long, twenty-three feet broad, and nearly forty feet high at its greatest height. At the east end, between the windows, was a celebrated crucifix, and on the north side the reader's pulpit, for it was the custom for the monks to listen to some edifying book while they were having their meals. The floor was strewn with straw litter, with rush mats spread over it. The kitchen was often a large apartment, with two, three, or even four fireplaces in it.

The beds of the monks do not sound very comfortable; the rules of Syon, a double convent for men and women, order that they should be made of "bordes faste nayled togyder and stuffed with strawe." Each of them had a mattress, a cushion, a pillow, and two blankets, or more at the discretion of the head of the

house. But this was perhaps a counsel of perfection, for in the inventory of the priory of Finchale, quite a small monastery, we read of a patchwork quilt, bed-curtains, and elaborate coverings for the beds, of various colours, ornamented with birds and butterflies; and there were two feather-beds in the Abbot's chamber at Hales Owen, in 1502. They slept in some of their day clothes, including their stockings; not a very healthy plan, but very convenient as they got up in the middle of the night for a service, and certainly much better than wearing nothing at all but a night-cap, as was usual amongst secular people. We are struck by the absence of washing utensils in the dormitory, the monks performed their ablutions at a lavatory (a kind of stone trough) in the cloisters, and they seem to have been somewhat scanty; baths were not often taken except by doctor's orders.

Catering for a large monastic establishment must have been no light task. From their accounts and other records we know what was supplied for them. The diet rolls of St. Swithun's show that they had meat on Sundays and three days in the week, and they consumed two carcases a day. As a specimen, we give the entry for Sunday, November 11, 1492—

	s.	*d.*
Moile	0	7
Burson as entrée	0	4
162 eggs	1	3
Nombles as pittance	0	2
Sew for supper	0	6
Beef	3	0
Mutton	1	6

Moile was bread warmed under the roasting meat and soaked in dripping. Nombles was, according to the editor of the rolls, the name given to a portion of venison cut from the inner side of the deer's thigh, which was regarded as a special delicacy. Pittance in this case means an extra portion of food handed round as a favour. Sew was a kind of pottage or broth. Extra entrées were provided for the ministrants, and wine was sent to the chaplain. On Wednesday, November 14, they had dried ling or cod, eggs, mustard, and oysters as entrée. Oysters were not considered a luxury, Chaucer uses the expression " nat worth an oistre " to signify that a thing is valueless. Two hundred oysters cost 4*d.* in 1502. We do not gain much information as to the consumption of poultry and game from these rolls, probably because they did not fall within the scope of the accounts, but we know from other sources that they were used. At Bicester Priory a goose, six fowls and chickens, and eighteen dozen and eight pigeons were eaten in one week. Mr. Fowler, the editor of the Surtees Society's edition of the accounts of the priory of Durham, tells us that sixty-five kinds of fish and other sea creatures used for food, twenty-one kinds of flesh, twenty-seven kinds of fowls, fifteen kinds of spices, nine kinds of fruit, and seventeen kinds of grocery are mentioned in them, so the monks did not lack variety in food. Each brother at St. Swithun's was allowed half a loaf of bread a day, and cheese for dinner and supper except on certain fast days, and butter twice a week from SS. Philip and James' Day to the Exaltation of the Cross, save on the Vigil of the Assumption of the

Blessed Virgin Mary. They did not have many puddings, but they had fruit, such as figs, raisins, prunes, apples, dates and walnuts. These were used a good deal in Lent, as well as spices of all kinds—ginger, cinnamon, cloves, aniseed, mace, sugar and similar trifles. Dean Kitchin thinks that spices were not articles of diet, but part of the pharmacy, and that they served as medicine, and that spiced and drugged wines were particularly useful when fasting led to illness. His suggestion is interesting, and no doubt spices were valued for their medicinal qualities, but cookery books show very plainly that they were frequently used as food, and spiced wines were always served at the conclusion of banquets. We cannot help thinking that fasting, far from being injurious to the monks, must have been good for them. They were not like men who took strenuous physical exercise or performed hard manual labour : had they lived on a full diet all the year round their digestions must have suffered. As it was they were forced to have recourse to periodical blood-letting for the sake of their health. They ate no meat on fast-days, but they had all sorts of fish both fresh and dried, and plenty of eggs, which are very nourishing. On Good Friday, 1493, the community at St. Swithun's, which then consisted of about thirty monks, had a thousand eggs, five shillings' worth of red herrings, which would be about five hundred, and figs ; so that even allowing for feeding the servants, their fare though not very appetising, especially after six weeks of this kind of food, was not scanty.

Beer or ale seems to have been the usual drink for

both monks and nuns ; the cellaress of Syon bought four hundred and eighty quarters of malt, and one kilderkin of good ale in a year (22 Edward IV), when the brothers and sisters together numbered eighty-five. Wine was occasionally drunk, the monks of St. Swithun's received allowances of it sixty-eight times a year ; water-drinking does not seem to have found much favour with them, but there were " water-dayes at Syon."

As a rule monks had two meals a day, dinner and supper, and also a light refreshment of beer in the evening, immediately after " collation," the reading of the sacred books in the chapter-house. Unfortunately, abuses sometimes arose, and we find Bishop Redman, in his visitations, reproaching some of the Anglo-Premonstratensian canons for indulging in potations at night, and excessive drinking, and he gives strict orders that no drinking is to be allowed after Compline, the last service of the day. At Syon, dinner consisted of three courses, the first being two " potages," the second two kinds of meat of flesh or fish, and the third a pittance. For supper they had " some lytel sowpyng, and . . . fysche and whyte mete." Directions are given that it is all to be " holsom and welle sesoned, tender and goode, . . . served forthe al hote and otherwyse, as the mete requyrethe." On fish days there were to be " whyte metes, yf any may be hadde after the rewle, besyde fysche metes. . . . Also, ones a wyke at the least . . . newe brede, namely, on water dayes." At Syon the rule of silence led to the use of signs, and some of them were very ingenious—if a nun wanted fish she was told to " wagge " her hand " in manner of a fissh

taill"; if she wished for a knife she imitated the action of cutting. Some signs were more complicated; to indicate the abbess, sisters made the sign for age and also for a woman. The rule of silence, however, seems to have been very difficult to keep; many are the complaints and exhortations made by Bishop Redman regarding it.

In dress the monks anticipated some of our modern theories of all woollen clothing. At Syon they had an under-tunic of white woollen cloth, a tunic of grey cloth, and a frock of the same to which a hood was sewn, and over the frock a mantle could be worn. If necessary a pilch of the skin of sheep or lamb was placed under the mantle, and in winter they had stockings and boots up to their knees, and the nuns were similarly clad, but their head-dress was rather more elaborate. They would have been well protected against cold even if the building had not been warmed, but we have reason to believe that parts of it, at least, were heated. Bishop Redman directed the Abbot of St. Agatha's to see that his convent was warmed when the cold rendered it necessary. There was a fire in the refectory at St. Swithun's in snowy weather, and in the hall at Durham. The nuns at Syon had a "fyre howse or chawfyng howse" where they could warm themselves, and the Cellaress bought eleven hundred and fifty-seven quarters of "kooles" (coals) in one year. Often monks and nuns received a certain sum of money, about twenty shillings a year, and provided their own clothing. By degrees innovations were introduced, and we read that their sleeves were too large, and their tunics too short. Sometimes they were

tempted to wear costly attire when they travelled about the country. The nuns of the priory of Easebourne (Sussex) declared, at a visitation, that their prioress was so choice in her clothing that the fur trimmings on her mantel were worth a hundred shillings : she was ordered by the Visitor to sell them and to devote the money to paying the debts of the house, which were largely due to her extravagance. Ecclesiastical vestments tended to become more and more splendid—" towards the close of the century," says Abbot Gasquet, " the celebration of Chapters became the occasions of a display, or ecclesiastical pageant, on the part of the Premonstratensians." On one occasion Bishop Redman asked the abbots to bring their crosiers and other pontificalia to a procession which was about to be held, so that it might be as gorgeous as possible. This love of magnificence was quite in accordance with the spirit of the age.

Religious duties formed, we suppose, the chief occupation of the monks. There were six services in the course of the day, and one at midnight : to be aroused in the night could not have been pleasant, but it does not appear that the monks suffered from lack of sleep. In August, 1478, Bishop Redman ordered all the canons of Torre, except officials, to be in bed by 8 p.m., so we see they did not keep late hours. Nevertheless, the Premonstratensians seem to have grown rather negligent about the night service. A good deal of the time of the obedientaries must have been taken up with practical affairs, and many of them were obliged to be absent from the monastery, at intervals, to look after its business on its manors and elsewhere. They, therefore,

could not have attended all the services, and some of them had deputies who took their places in the church when they were reasonably let or hindered. Other monks were also allowed to go out occasionally, and sometimes their relations were permitted to visit them. Many monasteries had libraries, or at least collections of books, but the monks showed very little zeal for learning at this period. They were not left without amusement: "ludi" (games) were held regularly by the Prior of Durham, unless something very important prevented him. In the Durham account rolls there are payments to minstrels, players ("istrionibus,"), harpers, a dancer, a lute player, and a jester, who came to the monastery at festive seasons. Even the little priory of Finchale had its "playerchambre" where the monks assembled for dramatic representations of mysteries and miracle plays, or for the performances of musicians and gleemen. Sometimes they went hunting: in the middle of the fourteenth century the monks of this same priory were reproved for keeping a pack of hounds, and in 1488 Bishop Redman found it necessary to forbid the canons of Langley to indulge in night hunts, fishings, or recreations. He was also obliged to prohibit games, particularly dice, cards, and tennis, being played for money. He did not, however, in the least object to the canons amusing themselves, and told the Abbot of Newbo to encourage his community to take recreation twice a week and on Sunday. But it appears that some of the Premonstratensians paid too much attention to amusements, or else chose very unsuitable times for them, for in 1500 he ordered that the recreations of the brethren

of Sulby should be arranged to enable them to do their work, and especially their divine service, better. We cannot feel that the monks of the later Middle Ages were living very hard self-sacrificing lives.

Stricter seclusion was enjoined on nuns than on monks. Boniface VIII, in his decretal "Periculoso," promulgated about 1300, ordered them to remain under perpetual claustration, forbidding them to go out of the cloister except in cases of the utmost necessity, or to allow secular persons to enter it without manifest cause and the express permission of the Visitor.[1] These injunctions were not new in spirit, they embodied the aims of all orthodox medieval disciplinarians, but Papal sanction put them on an authoritative footing, they became part of the Canon Law, and were binding upon all nuns. Their object was not only to cut nuns off from the world, but also to prevent any breath of its atmosphere reaching them for fear that it should disturb their contemplation of religion. But the Visitors who were responsible for the discipline of the nunneries, and inspected them from time to time, found the decree very difficult to enforce, and less than twenty years after it was issued, Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, in some ordinances drawn up for Polsloe Priory, laid down the rule that a Lady of Religion might visit her friends outside the Priory, for some reasonable cause, once a year, provided that she obtained leave from the Prioress, and went in company

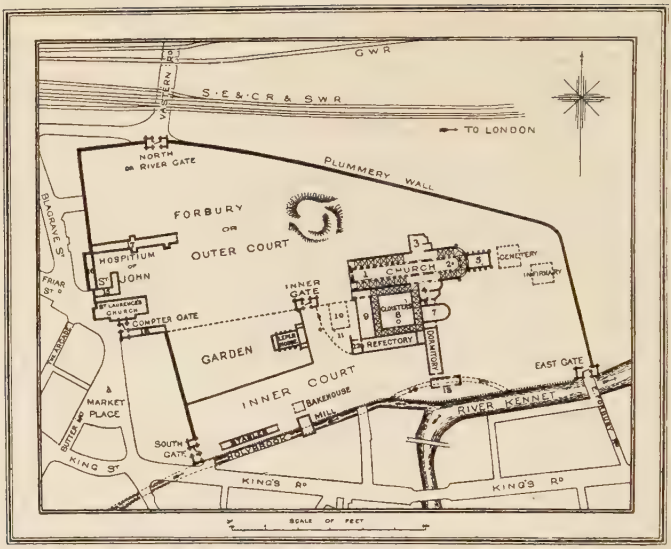
[1] I am indebted to Mr. G. G. Coulton for information regarding the claustration of nuns and its bearing upon the development of Convent Education (see p. 215 below), together with many references to the sources from which he obtained it.

with some other sister in Religion, and that if she went to a distance she might stay away a month. This seems a very liberal interpretation of the decretal. Similarly in 1367, the nuns of Farwell, in Staffordshire, were allowed by their Visitor to go to Lichfield, if the Prioress sanctioned it, and three of them went together, and they made "no vain and wanton delays." They were forbidden to go outside the bounds of the Priory at all without the leave of the Prioress, but the prohibition was "not intended to interfere with the laudable custom of the whole or the greater part of the convent walking out together on certain days to take the air." If we turn from these rules to such facts as we can glean about their observance, we find Bishop Gyngel declaring in 1359, after a visitation of the convent of Elstow, Lincolnshire, that there was "too much wandering of the nuns out of the monastery," and in 1387, Bishop Buckingham warned them that they must avoid scandal by refraining from conversation with men, and that they must not talk to the canons of Caldwell "about the public highways and fields adjoining." It was reported to Bishop Alnwick, in 1440, that the nuns of Nuncotham paid long visits to their friends and travelled quite long distances for this purpose. The Prioress of Easebourne, in Sussex, promised, in 1478, that her nuns should not pass beyond the enclosure, so we may infer that they had been in the habit of doing it, and the Abbess of Romsey, in 1494, "suspected" that the nuns went out through the church gates. The obedientaries of nunneries, as of monasteries, must sometimes have been obliged to make journeys on behalf of the convent, and

we presume that in such cases they would have been held blameless by their superiors. We read in the accounts of Stamford St. Michael's, Northampton, (48–9 Edward III), that two of the sisters went to Rokingham, and to London, and that the Prioress went to "Ludyngton," to the Bishop. Those who held responsible positions must also have had a great deal of work to do which would very effectually distract their attention from the contemplation of religion; the Treasuress at this same nunnery received the rents, and money from other sources. She paid the taxes due to the King and the Pope, the wages of the servants, and the expenses entailed by lawsuits. She saw that all the buildings were in good repair, and that the carts and horses were fit for use. She entertained guests. She bought spices, bread, herrings and other things that were needed. The farm entailed a great deal of work, especially in harvest time, and all the payments for it passed through her hands. Bishop Alnwick was told at his visitation of Nuncotham, in 1440, that some of the obedientaries were too busy to attend the choir office, and it is not altogether surprising if anything like this devolved upon them, but probably they had much less to do, as Nuncotham was a small nunnery and its resources were not extensive. In some convents, however, there were male wardens or masters who, we suppose, relieved the nuns of much of the work and responsibility entailed by the upkeep of the establishment.

One of the results of Professor Savine's researches into the condition of the monasteries on the eve of the Dissolution has been to show that nunneries were not nearly

as rich as monasteries : the gross income of a monk, he tells us, was more than twice that of a nun. He goes on to say that " whatever the social position of the ordinary nun may have been before she took the veil, it is evidently only in a few of the rich houses that they could live like great ladies and do no manual work at all." This statement may perhaps be a little too strong, for in 1440, at Nuncotham, which was not a rich house, some of the nuns had private rooms and gardens, and servants of their own ; but undoubtedly there were many nunneries whose resources were very limited. To increase them the nuns disregarded the rule which forbade them to admit secular persons into their cloisters, and probably ladies of good position, who wanted a resting-place for a few nights or a home for a longer time, were very glad to lodge with them, and they could afford to pay for the hospitality they received. John of Gaunt sent five " damoiselles d'Espaigne," the countrywomen of his wife, Constance of Castile, to the priory of " Nouneton," and paid the Prioress £34 13*s.* 4*d.* a year for them. The Visitors very much objected to the practice ; in 1359 Bishop Gynwell said that no secular women, except the necessary maid-servants, might dwell in the convent of Elstow without special licence, and in 1382 Bishop Bokyngham ordered the nuns of Nuncotham to " amove all secular persons from their precincts," especially one who had taken up her abode permanently with them. Nevertheless, the Visitors themselves did permit just a few persons to board in nunneries ; Ralph, of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, authorized the Prioress of Cannyngton to



PLAN OF READING ABBEY.
Copied by permission from Dr. Hurry's *Rise and Fall of Reading Abbey*.

A FRANCISCAN FRIAR.
Hollar's Prints; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*.

[*To face p.* 77.

receive Isobel, the wife of John Byccomb, as a paying guest for four months. But the nuns managed, in later years at least, to avoid the restrictions which the Visitors tried to impose upon them ; in 1440 boarders were sleeping in the dormitories at Stainfield, and at Heynings they occupied the infirmary. Many seculars boarded at Nuncotham, and possibly that was why the nuns were able to have private rooms and their own servants. At Carrow Abbey both men and women were frequently received as paying guests. Amongst the boarders in this and some of the cases we have quoted school-children were certainly included, but of the educational work of the nuns we shall speak in a later chapter. To some of us these infringements by the nuns of the exceedingly strict rules laid down for them may seem very trifling faults, and when we remember that they were often committed under the pressure of poverty we find it hard to blame them, though it would have been much more in accordance with their vows to have borne poverty. But in the eyes of the medieval disciplinarian, who held that the contemplative life was the highest of all lives, they were serious offences, because they were concessions to human longings and human weaknesses which Ladies in Religion ought resolutely to thrust from them.

The lives of the friars were very unlike those of the monks and nuns : it was their duty to go amongst the poor, to teach the ignorant and to tend the sick. In the ardour of their first enthusiasm they must have done much to raise the people, and their self-sacrificing devotion to their duty was magnificent. Nor must we forget their services to learning at Oxford. Unfortunately

they deteriorated, and then their intercourse with the people, which had been their great merit, became harmful. Their faults were exposed, not only by Wyclif and his followers such as the authors of *Jacke Upland* and *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, who vehemently reproach them for their cupidity and immorality, but also by Chaucer, whose testimony is more convincing because it is less bitter. The friar, he says, was an easy man to give penance because he taught—

> " in stede of weping and preyeres,
> Men moot yeve silver to the povre freres."

He was " the beste beggere in his hous," and he made begging pay so well that he had no need to be clad like a poor scholar " with a thredbar cope," but " lyk a maister or a pope."

> " Of double worsted was his semi-cope."

Strangest of all is Chaucer's description of the friar with his hood full of knives and pins to give fair wives, which shows that he combined " with spiritual functions the occupations of a pedlar." In the middle of the fifteenth century the friars were still objects of attack, and Pecock attempted to defend them. His apology for their worldliness, and especially the quibbles by which he justified the Franciscans' practice of counting money with a stick because they were forbidden to touch it, were nearly as damaging as the reproaches of their adversaries, for it is clear that they were disregarding the spirit while they kept the letter of their rule.

Far wiser than this attempt to gloss over wrong-doing was an effort made by the Franciscans to reform them-

selves, even though it entailed an exposure of evil. The "Observants," as the reformers were called, drew up a code of laws, in 1451: it prescribed a very strict mode of life, and ordered that apostacy and offences against purity should be very severely punished. It also legislated against forgery, perjury, theft, and assault, a course of action which suggests that these offences were sometimes committed by friars, for there would be no need to forbid them if no one ever thought of doing them, but which also shows a sincere determination to prevent their recurrence.

The comfortable easy-going existence of the monks, the secularity of the nuns, and the deterioration of the friars, all point to the conclusion that the monastic orders were not living up to a high ideal of spiritual life, or setting an example of religious earnestness and devotion to the world around them. But it has been our bad fortune to study monasticism in a period of decadence, and it would not be fair to judge the whole movement by this phase of it.

CHAPTER VII

BUSINESS LIFE

Business Life in the later Middle Ages was in some ways very different from our own, but in others far more similar than we might expect: it was on a very much smaller scale and perhaps less complicated, but many of the problems which perplex us now were even then causing anxiety.

In earlier days state regulation of trade had been accepted without question, but the growth of industry and commerce which was taking place led to a desire for greater freedom, and the struggle began between the rival claims of Free Trade and Protection. Medieval ideas of Free Trade were not, however, exactly like ours; it did not mean the free importation of goods from foreign countries, but only internal Free Trade and equal advantages for all English traders. Certain trades were in the hands of privileged persons or associations, and directed into certain channels, but monopolies of this kind began to be irksome. For example, the wool trade was in the hands of a body of merchants who were called Staplers, and wool might only be exported from specified ports to a specified mart, which was generally at Calais. These ports were termed Staple towns, or Staples, and the organization which

managed the trade was known as the Staple. Edward III, who was exceedingly enterprising in his commercial policy, tried the experiment of abolishing all Staples, in 1328. But he was unable to maintain this freedom of trade ; the Staple was re-established in 1343, and continued in action throughout our period. Concentration of trade at a few fixed points facilitated the collection of customs duties, and also minimized the dangers from pirates and others, to which merchants were liable. Nevertheless, the extraordinary number of statutes and ordinances passed to uphold the privileges of the Staple prove how often it was assailed. In spite of the support of the Government it gradually grew weaker, and the development of the Merchant Adventurers, who dealt in cloth, and were not bound down to any particular route, is another indication of the desire for more freedom in commerce. These merchants in their turn became exclusive, and endeavoured to obtain a monopoly of the sale of their commodity, and consequently it was necessary to check their aggressions by law in 1497.

Evidence of the struggle against monopolies may also be seen in an attempt to obtain the right to sell herrings anywhere in Great Yarmouth at the time of the herring fair, but its failure, as Miss Law has pointed out, was chronicled by the Statute of Herrings (1357), which enacted that no vessel called " Pyker," of London, or elsewhere, should enter the haven " to abate the fair in damages of the people " ; and that all fishers should be compelled to bring all the remnant of their herrings to the fair, to sell there. A few similar attempts were made in other towns, but they were all unavailing.

More effective though less obvious blows had already been struck at municipal privileges by the grants of freedom from toll made by royal charters to various towns. These exemptions prepared the way for national and international trading under the Tudors.

Very severe measures were passed protecting English industry against foreign competition. The importation of wrought goods, such as woollen cloth, fringes and laces of silk, saddles, gloves, girdles and many other articles, was forbidden. Another Act, which aimed at maintaining the superiority of English wool, prohibited the export of sheep, without the King's licence. Edward III placed hampering restrictions upon English merchants who wished to import wines from Gascony into England, and, at the same time, permitted them to be brought by Gascons and other aliens. His main object was probably to conciliate his French subjects, but his policy was injurious to English shipowners. However, from the time of Richard II, *Navigation Acts* endeavoured to foster English shipping and the English carrying trade, but they were somewhat fitfully enforced. Efforts were also made to assist English farmers by an Act passed in 1437, which permitted them to export corn when the price did not exceed 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter. Another Act forbade the importation of foreign corn unless the price exceeded this sum. The latter Act was directed against the Hansards who had taken to importing a good deal of corn.

Retaliation was a weapon freely used: when the Duke of Burgundy forbade the import of English cloth into his dominions, Edward IV forbade the importation

into England of any goods, except provisions, from there. Henry VII employed this method of commercial warfare very effectively: the Venetians imposed a new custom upon malmsey wine laden in English ships at Candia, and he in return placed an extra duty upon malmsey brought to England in alien ships, which was so heavy that their Senate declared it ruinous to their trade. He also played one nation off against another so skilfully that he was able to obtain many concessions for English merchants, and concluded advantageous treaties with Burgundy, Brittany, Norway and Florence.

Much attention was devoted then as now to the wages question, but whereas to-day many are anxious to prevent workers being underpaid, and to fix a minimum wage, formerly they were anxious to prevent them being overpaid, and fixed a maximum wage. The first and most terrible visitation of the plague known as the Black Death swept over England in 1349, and carried off a very large number of people. All classes were attacked by it, but the mortality was greatest amongst the poor, and it consequently caused a great scarcity of labour. The labourers who survived it refused to work unless they were paid much higher wages than they had been receiving: but the Government decided that they ought to continue to work for the wages which were customary before its outbreak, and passed a statute to this effect. It was, no doubt, foolish to insist upon the old rate under new conditions, but the demands of the labourers seem to have been exorbitant. The position was very serious: the land was lying untilled, and the plague

would have been followed by famine, if the labourers could not have been induced to gather in the harvest. It is little wonder that the Government felt bound to end the deadlock between the landowners and the labourers. According to our views a compromise ought to have been arranged which would have taken the interests of both parties into consideration, but the recognition of the rights of Labour is quite a modern development. Moreover the Government tried to counterbalance the low rate of wages by keeping down the prices of victuals. Miss Putnam has described the methods employed to enforce obedience to the statute between 1349 and 1359. Six hundred and seventy-one justices were appointed for this purpose within these ten years. The statute applied to both men and women, and not only to agricultural labourers, but also to artisans, and household servants, and to persons above the class of manual labourers, who were employed for salaries, such as bailiffs and school teachers. The only persons of this class who were exempted were chaplains, and the reason given for the exception was that they were servants of God, and should be punished by the ecclesiastical courts, and even they were at first included. Occasionally, " givers " of excess wages and prices were indicted as well as " takers." Delinquents were punished by being set in the stocks, by short terms of imprisonment, or by the infliction of fines. The last penalty seems to have been the most usual. Miss Putnam is of the opinion that although the justices could not keep wages down to the statutory level, they did keep them down to a much lower level than would

have resulted from free competition during the decade which she has examined. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, and throughout the fifteenth, complaints were frequently made that labourers would not work for the legal wage, that they fled from one county to another to avoid the operation of the Act, and that there was a scarcity of servants of husbandry. Twice in the course of the fifteenth century wages were raised by Parliament. The success of the attempts to regulate wages does not therefore seem, even if we accept the most favourable view of them, to have been very great or very permanent, and they entailed much trouble and expense.

The system of apprenticeship in vogue in the Middle Ages is of especial interest to us because it has recently been suggested that it might be re-introduced, as a means of preventing unemployment. In the Middle Ages it certainly had much to recommend it, and when properly carried out it seems to have worked well; but unfortunately, as we shall see later, some hindrances were placed in its way. It saved boys from the idleness which besets so many of our youths, just at the most critical time in their lives (when they are on the threshold of manhood), and which so often hardens into a chronic dislike of work. Apprenticeship generally lasted seven years, and a man who served his full term with a good master had a chance of acquiring a thorough knowledge of his trade, and had no need to become a casual labourer, or to drift into unemployment on account of his own incapacity. As examples of the success of the system in fitting apprentices to undertake responsible work

two instances may be quoted—Robert Suthwode, we learn from the *Chancery Proceedings*, managed his master's business beyond the sea : John Stable, mercer, had so much confidence in his apprentices that he bequeathed a sum of money to them to trade with, on the understanding that half the profits should go to his widow and the rest to them. It must also have been a great advantage to masters to have a regular supply of well-trained workmen. The report on the conditions of Boy Labour drawn up in 1909 shows a very different and most unsatisfactory state of affairs ; a large number of boys are engaged in trades which they do not follow when they become men, and which do not prepare them for other work. Consequently, there is generally a time of transition when they have to seek new occupations for which they have little or no aptitude. This is especially the case with boy messengers whose occupation ceases directly they require higher wages, and according to the census of 1901 there were—

32,536 boy messengers under 14 years old.
41,659 „ „ aged 14.
54,592 „ „ between the ages of 15 and 19.
8,993 „ „ „ „ „ „ 20 and 24.

These figures speak for themselves only too plainly Investigators into the conditions of industrial life at the present time also tell us that although there are loud and continuous complaints of lack of work, employers declare "that there is a dearth of first-class workers, but that the market is flooded with inefficient workers." This was found to be the case in the dress-

making trade, in London, 1906–7. Whether or not we consider a revival of apprenticeship the right remedy for this state of affairs, we cannot, in the face of statements such as these, shut our eyes to the importance of ensuring that adequate industrial training should be within the reach of our boys and girls.

The capitalist, who now figures so prominently in the commercial world, came into existence in the later Middle Ages, as soon as the growth of industry and the increasing demand for goods made it impossible to trade without a considerable amount of capital, and when the profits of trade grew large enough to enable men to amass money. In Coventry, we find that one man controlled several kindred crafts; "smythiers, brakemen, gurdelmen and Cardwirdrawers" were all under his orders, and this seems to point to the presence of a capitalist employer. There is evidence that Capitalism was developed in the Stannaries, the tin mines in Cornwall, at an early date, and there are references in contemporary sources to mine shares held by others than manual labourers. In consequence of the employment of capital more workmen were employed, and more elaborate processes used. We hear occasionally of fulling mills, and of leases of mill-streams, which prove that the value of water-power was beginning to be realized. The mill-wheel of the forge in Bishop Langley's ironworks (Durham) was worked by water-power: "the stream was dammed and the water led up to a water-wheel by means of a stone trough or channel and wooden pipes." Greater division of labour was needed to obtain a greater output, and the capitalist,

especially in the cloth manufacture, which was the most important industry, employed workmen of many different grades, and arranged for all the different stages of production. Supervision and organization left him little leisure to deal directly with his customers, and the services of a middleman were required.

These changes in the management of industry tended to put a greater distance between masters and men than there had been under the older conditions, when small masters employed a few men, and worked with them. This naturally led to a decrease of sympathy between them, and an increase of selfishness, and jarring interests soon caused friction. In earlier days, an apprentice, after he had served his term, worked as a journeyman for a time, and then became a master, but it was not so easy for him to set up for himself when a considerable amount of capital was needed. Masters, able to undertake a greater amount of work than in the past, grew more hostile to rivals, they did not wish to share their profits with new-comers, and tried to prevent journeymen from becoming masters. Sometimes they forced apprentices who entered their service to swear not to start in business for themselves when their apprenticeship was ended. Their wealth and position gave them great influence in the gilds, and they curtailed the powers of the journeymen in these associations as much as they could. The journeymen retaliated by forming gilds of their own in London, and some other towns. Unfortunately, they were sometimes very violent in their methods of resisting the aggression of the masters, and their unruliness perhaps injured

their cause. The Mayor of London was informed, in 1415, that the journeymen of the tailors "oftentimes assembled in great numbers, and . . . had grievously . . . wounded, beaten, and maltreated many lieges of our Lord the King, and especially one Thomas Trepenelle, one of the Masters of the trade aforesaid; and had perpetrated, and did then daily endeavour to perpetrate, many rescues against the serjeants and officers of the said city, on the arrest of misdoers and disturbers of the peace." The Mayor, impressed apparently with the report of their misdeeds, ordered them to submit to the governance and rule of the master and wardens of the trade, and forbade them to hold assemblies. The journeymen weavers of Coventry three times formed a gild, but each time it was suppressed. The treatment meted out to these associations of workmen contrasts rather curiously with that now accorded to trades unions.

Medieval theories of commercial morality were often strangely at variance with the business methods employed by both masters and men. They considered it unjustifiable to drive a hard bargain by taking advantage of the ignorance or misfortunes of others. To buy up large quantities of commodities before they had come to the place appointed for their sale was forbidden, because it enhanced prices. They did not understand the action of the laws of supply and demand, but thought that prices should be regulated by the cost of production. They held that no man ought to make money without working for it, and consequently, to receive interest for the loan of money, however

small the rate, was in their eyes the horrible and abominable vice of usury. To us some of these theories seem unreasonable, even while we feel that there is something rather attractive in their simplicity. The expansion of trade in the later Middle Ages made many of them quite impracticable, and they were evaded in all kinds of ways. Especially ingenious were the means by which the usury laws were circumvented—the borrower purposely did not repay the loan punctually, and gave the lender an additional sum as compensation for the delay, or the lender pretended to share the risks of the transaction, or some other device was employed. Tricks such as these could not fail to dim men's sense of honesty and fair play, and it is clear to us that clinging to obsolete theories caused much moral confusion. But they did not grasp the magnitude of the changes which were going on around them, and believed their maxims to be sound, and necessary for the preservation of commercial morality.

In the later Middle Ages people bought their goods, not only at shops, but at fairs and markets, and from itinerant "chapmen." Fairs were not of as much importance as they had been, but they were still much frequented by the inhabitants of the locality in which they were held. An Act of 1487 tells us what articles were sold at fairs; they included "ornaments of holy Church," and also household goods—"as vytell for the time of Lent, and other stuff" as linen cloth, woollen cloth, bedding, iron, flax, wax, and brass and pewter pots. Some fairs made specialities of certain commodities; a fair held in the north hundred of Oxford was

noted for its sale of books, and Abingdon had a cattle fair. As a rule fairs took place once a year, and lasted several days, or even a week or two. Elaborate preparations were made for them: at Winchester, where St. Giles' fair was held, a kind of wooden town sprang up, on the brow of the hill outside the city. The whole space was surrounded by a palisade, with one or two gates in it; this was done as a protection against thieves, and also to prevent traders smuggling their goods in without paying toll. Inside the fence, the fair was laid out in streets, which were named from the commodities sold in them, and they were assigned to various artificers, such as goldsmiths and others. We hear also of a Drapery, Pottery, Spicery, and a place for the sale of birds and beasts. When the popularity of the fair was at its height, men of many nationalities were found there, but St. Giles' declined in importance in the course of the fifteenth century. Any disputes which arose, and any misdemeanours which were committed during the fair, were tried on the spot, by specially appointed courts. The regulations made to guard the monopoly of the fair were very stringent; no one in the neighbourhood might sell anything except at the fair. Markets were on a much smaller scale than fairs; they were generally held once a week, in the market-place, which was the centre of the business life of the town. In London there were markets for the sale of corn, woollen cloth, "flesh and fish," horses and cattle, and other merchandise, as well as a general market. Norwich had a fish market, a poultry market, a market for white leather, and another for oxen, cows, and horses.

The first two were close together and contained between them five rows of stalls, which were worth £5 a year.

Medieval shops would appear to us rather primitive, but their evolution is very interesting, and affords an index of the growth of trade. According to Mr. Addy they were originally below the surface of the street like cellars. In London, Stow tells us, speaking of the fishmongers and the butchers, they had at first only movable boards or stalls, which they set out on market days to show their goods, but they procured licence to set up sheds which "grew to shops." A movable stall, "situate beneath the gate of Ludgate" was let on lease, in 1375, for ten years, at a rent of forty shillings a year, but rents were much higher in London than elsewhere. A lease of a plot of ground nine feet by five was granted to a butcher of Colchester to make a stall thereon, and he paid a rent of two shillings a year. When it became necessary to have permanent shops, stalls were often fixed on to the front of the lower part of the house, and provided with hinges, so that they could be let down when they were not in use. An ordinance of the City of London, in the reign of Edward II, decreed that they should not be more than two and a half feet wide. They must have been something like the adjustable flaps we have on gateleg tables. Sometimes a sloping wooden roof protected them, and sometimes the projecting upper stories of the house served the same purpose. As business increased the room to which the stall was attached was used as a shop, as well as the stall itself; and sometimes there was a cellar or a store-room under the shop. The shops in Butchers' Row, Shrewsbury,

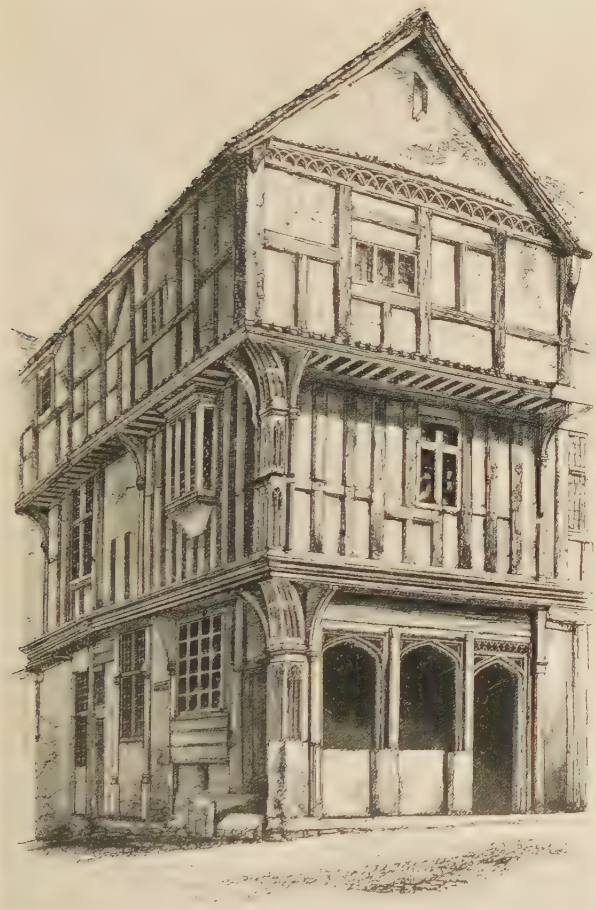


Photo. *Donald Macbeth*

Shops in the Double Butchers' Row, Shrewsbury, Fifteenth Century
Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England.*

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which Mr. Parker says were built in the fifteenth century, consist of good-sized rooms, divided into three parts by stanchions; one opens into the street, and the upper portions of the other two form the shop window. Each shop had its sign hanging outside it to indicate the trade of its owner: a survival of the custom may be seen to-day in the pawnbroker's three balls. Men of the same trade congregated together in the same street, and some of the streets of London and other towns still owe their names to the occupations of their former inhabitants. The makers of the rosaries which were called Paternosters lived in Paternoster Row, and Lombard Street was the abode of Lombard brokers.

A poem called "London Lickpenny" gives an amusing account of the ways of London tradesmen. The writer tells us how the Flemings pounced upon him when he came out of Westminster Hall, and asked him what he would buy?

"Fine felt hats, or spectacles to read?"

At Westmnister Gate the cooks proffered him "bread, with ale and wine" and ribs of beef. Then he went to London, at that time separate from Westminster, and there

"Hot peascods!" one began to cry,
"Strawberries ripe! and cherries in the rise!"

In the Cheap, he was offered velvet, silk and lawn, and Paris thread, the finest in the land. In Canwick Street the drapers urged him to buy their cloth, while others cried "Hot sheeps' feet! Mackerel! and rushes green!" Good lungs must have been needed for all

this shouting. In Cornhill he saw, among much stolen gear, his own hood, which he had lost in the crowd at Westminster. Shopmen were not as decorous as they are now, but they seem to have done a brisk trade; and this lively bustling scene gives us some idea of what shopping was like in the later Middle Ages.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UNEMPLOYED

The problem of Unemployment, which gives us so much anxiety, confronted our forefathers also, although it was not then nearly so vast and complicated. Many causes contributed to produce it: the breakdown of the Feudal System freed serfs from the obligation of rendering service to their lords, but they were not all fit for other work, and many who had given up their lands in the hope of obtaining better employment in the towns, discovered too late that they had not the skill necessary for industrial occupations. Agricultural labourers were thrown out of work by the enclosure of large tracts of land for sheep farming. The development of the manufacture of cloth so greatly increased the demand for wool that land-owners found it more profitable to turn their land into pasture than to grow corn upon it. Enclosing was not carried on as extensively in our period as in the sixteenth century, but even in the reign of Henry VII Parliament declared that on account of it idleness daily increased, for where in some towns "two hundred persones were occupied and lived by their lawfull labours, nowe ben there occupied two or three herdemen." The selfish policy

of the Gilds in limiting the number of apprentices each master might take also caused unemployment, as many youths were prevented from acquiring the training needed to make them efficient artisans. The workmen themselves complained that the employment of aliens deprived them of work, and no doubt this was a factor in the situation. The long wars in which England was engaged also tended to swell the numbers of the unemployed: many soldiers returned from them unfit or unwilling to work. There were others also who could earn a living, but who preferred to be idle: such, for instance, as a beggar described in Mr. Riley's *Memorials of London*, who went about "barefooted and with long hair, under the guise of sanctity," pretending to be a hermit; for six years he lived "by such lies, falsities, and deceits," whereas he was able to work. Langland speaks very severely about men of this kind—Piers the Plowman, in pity for the poor, is about to bid Hunger leave the country, but first he asks what he is to do with beggars, saying that he knows well they will work ill if Hunger be gone. Hunger, in reply, tells him to feed them "with houndes bred and hors bred" and make them work. This advice is the more remarkable as Langland was full of sympathy with the sorrows of the poor. It contrasts curiously with Mr. Bernard Shaw's assertion that "a man could not be a reasonable moral human being unless he had a reasonable, dignified subsistence."

The Government in medieval England did its best to discriminate between those who could not and those who would not work, and tried to cure idleness by

Interior of a Mercer's Shop.
MS. Cott. Tib., A. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners.*

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

Almshouse or Hospital, Sherborne, Dorset, A.D. 1448.
Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England.*

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methods quite in accordance with Langland's teaching. Parliament forbade any one to give alms to persons who were able to work, and ordered that sturdy beggars who refused to serve as labourers should be imprisoned. In the reign of Henry VII, however, the punishment was modified by an Act which decreed that vagabonds and beggars were to be kept in the stocks for three days and nights, and fed on bread and water; but the period of their detention was afterwards reduced to one day and night for the first offence. Possibly this treatment was accorded to them, even before the Act was passed, for we read that in 1472 stocks were set up in every ward in London to punish vagabonds.

The "impotent poor" were permitted to beg from the people amongst whom they lived, but they were not allowed to wander all over the country asking for charity. A statute passed in 1388 ordered them to stay in the places where they were dwelling at that time. But if the inhabitants of these places could not or would not maintain them, they must return to the towns where they were born, and abide there for the rest of their lives. Letters patent were given to them authorizing them to beg while they were journeying to their old homes. Sometimes more general licences to beg were granted: we find in the *Early Chancery Proceedings* allusions to letters patent entitling old soldiers to gather alms, either as a means of livelihood (if disabled in war), or to pay their ransoms. A tapicer, named John of Burton, who had fallen on evil days through misfortune, asked the Chancellor for "letters of Pardon" to give to any who bestowed alms upon him.

This official recognition of begging may seem rather strange to modern philanthropists, but it was not then considered disgraceful, and no one doubted that it was "a noble vertu to do almesdedes." It was well for the poor that this was an article of belief, for they were entirely dependent upon voluntary gifts; there were no workhouses and no compulsory poor-rate. It was held that it was one of the duties of the Church to "make hospitalities, alms and other works of charity," and "certain possessions" were assigned to it for this purpose, but from complaints made in the House of Commons we learn that non-residence frequently led the clergy to neglect this duty. Parliament decreed that when benefices were appropriated to persons or institutions a portion of the profits of the livings should be paid yearly to the poor of the parish, but apparently the Act was disregarded as it was necessary to re-enact it, and to order that it should be put into due execution. It seems, therefore, that the poor did not gain much from this source.

The poor obtained some assistance from private munificence: all rich men gave doles to them, and the custom was so general that every man of any social standing had an almoner to dispense his alms, and kept an almsdish on his table, into which food for the poor was placed. The almoner of the Duke of Clarence waited upon his master's table at dinner and supper, and took up each dish as the Duke set it from him so that he might "thereof . . . make sufficyently the almes-disshe, to be gyven to the moste needy man or woman by his discression." He also saw that every

two persons were served out of the pantry with a loaf of bread, every eight with a gallon of ale, and that "a messe of mete" was divided amongst every four. The rich gave the poor money and clothing as well as food; the Duke's almoner distributed twelve pence daily, John of Gaunt was accustomed to distribute twelve shillings and sixpence every Friday, and ten shillings every Saturday, amongst needy persons. He helped the poor also in other ways from time to time; in 1372, he sent the poor lazars of Leicester three cartloads of wood for fuel in the winter, and the same year he gave the prisoners at Newgate a ton of Gascony wine. It is recorded in Rymer's Fœdera that on Good Friday, 1414, the King gave £200 to the poor, and that on April 18th, 1415, liveries and gowns were bestowed by him upon thirty poor men. On Maundy Thursday special gifts were always made to the poor, in remembrance of the first Maundy Thursday, when Christ washed His disciples' feet, and bade them love each other as He loved them. The custom is still observed by the King, and year by year, as the day comes round, the Lord High Almoner distributes the Royal Maundy, in Westminster Abbey.

The monasteries also had their almoners, but the accounts of these officials do not give the impression that the monks were very generous. Mr. Howlett informs us that it would appear from the roll of the almoner of St. Benedict's at Holme (18–19 Henry VII) that this monastery, a community of twenty-two monks, lavished 5*s.* 8*d.* a year on the poor. He suggests, by way of excuse, that possibly there were no poor within

reach. Mr. Kirk notices that Abingdon Abbey seems to have given little to the poor, but he reminds us that we do not possess the almoner's rolls, nevertheless he sums up the matter by saying that "hospitality to ordinary travellers and the relief of the poor did not consume more than a small fraction of its revenues. He also points out that the almoner's roll for Ramsey Abbey, which is still in existence, shows that, there, out of a total expenditure of £101 only £10 were distributed to the poor.

The poor frequently benefited from charitable bequests; nearly every one who made a will left something to them. Thomas Broke, a landowner of Holditch, Thorncombe, Devon, ordered that three hundred persons should have 3*d.* each, three hundred children 1*d.* each, thirteen persons a russet gown and 8*d.*, all his poorest tenants £100, and the blind and the lame £100. A parishioner of St. Mary-at-Hill, London, left 4*d.* a week "to iii poure people most nedefull." Robert Parys, ironmonger, bequeathed £40 to be kept in an iron-bound chest in the church of St. Michael, Queenhithe, to be used for loans to poor parishioners and others. Instances of legacies of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely. Often testators arranged that alms should be given to the poor on the anniversaries of their death, when memorial services were held for the good of their souls. The duty of executing these bequests was entrusted to monasteries, to the churchwardens of the church where the obits were celebrated, or to other persons. John of Gaunt expended £10 in alms to the poor and prisoners, and in oblations at High Mass, on

A Lame Beggar crawling on His Hands and Knees.
Photographed from a Misericord in Winchester College Chapel.

[*To face p. 100.*

the anniversary of the death of his first wife Blanche.

One of the most usual forms of charity in the fourteenth century was the foundation of almshouses, or hospitals, as they were then called. The Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester, which still maintains poor men and women, and still gives beer and bread to all travellers who ask for it, shows us of what they were like, although it was of earlier date. Sometimes they were attached to monasteries: St. Swithun's had one for women, and there were sixteen sisters in 1477; but often they were supported by Gilds, or by private individuals.

The Gilds did a great deal to relieve poverty, not only in this way, but by assisting members who fell into want through no fault of their own. The Gild Merchant of Coventry ordered that a member feeble through sickness or age should be maintained by the Gild "couenablement solonc ce que soun estat demaunde." The same Gild supported thirty-one men and women at a cost of £35 a year, and kept a lodging-house with thirteen beds for poor folks coming through the land on pilgrimages or other works of charity. The Smiths of Chesterfield gave a half-penny a day, from the common funds, to any brother who was sick and needed help. So important did they think the claims of necessitous members that one Gild decreed that if its funds fell below ten marks, the chaplain should be given up, but the poor brethren should be helped. In the assistance given to disabled members the work of the Gilds resembles one of the functions of Trades Unions; but the Gilds did not confine their contributions to members, but also gave help to beggars.

In the fifteenth century municipal authorities took a prominent part in the provision and administration of poor relief. At Sandwich, the burgesses controlled two hospitals, and at Rye and other towns money for charitable purposes was supplied by municipal funds. In Lydd corn was distributed at Easter and Christmas. The "almys" of the town of Southampton "were settled on a plan," and lists were kept of the weekly payments; in 1441 they amounted each week to £4 2*s.* 1*d.*, a sum which was then large enough to relieve about a hundred and fifty people. The Corporation of Reading expended payments made for the use of the town weights and scales upon the poor and infirm. The arrangements managed by the civic officials were of a more practical and business-like character than the picturesque but indiscriminate charity of wealthy nobles and monasteries, and when it became necessary for the State to organize poor-relief, it took many hints from them. We, perhaps, may condemn many of the methods of medieval almsgivers as unscientific, but even with our greater knowledge and wider experience, we are obliged to confess sadly that we have not yet learnt the great secret of successful poor-relief,—how best to help the poor to help themselves.

CHAPTER IX

ALIENS IN ENGLAND

The attitude of Englishmen towards aliens in the later Middle Ages was one of hostility. "They have an antipathy to foreigners," wrote the author of the *Italian Relation*, "and imagine that they never come into their island but to make themselves masters of it, and to usurp their goods." The opinion of Froissart, given more than a hundred years earlier, is very similar; he speaks of "the great haughtiness of the English, who are affable to no other nation than their own; nor could any of the gentlemen of Gascony or Aquitaine, though they had ruined themselves by their wars, obtain office or appointment in their own country; for the English said they were neither on a level with them nor worthy of their society."

This dislike of aliens seems to have been inherent in Englishmen, but it was heightened by the long foreign wars in which the country was engaged, and in moments of national excitement it rose to fever heat. At such times the lives of aliens were not safe; when the Duke of Burgundy left the English alliance and joined the French, "the commonaltie" attacked "all kinde of Flemminges then being in London" and "many were wounded, many killed, before the multitude could, by

open proclamation, be appeased." Even religious feeling could not overpower this dislike of foreigners; it was not uncommon for the King to seize the revenues of alien priories in time of war; the Commons frequently prayed the King to order alien monks to "void the realm," and to require such as were allowed to stay to give security not to disclose the secrets of the kingdom; and finally the alien priories were suppressed altogether. There was also much agitation against aliens holding benefices; it was said that they could not understand the language of the people, and so they could not teach them, and that instead of spending money on the parish they carried it away. Commercial rivalry was another great cause of ill-feeling between Englishmen and aliens: as trade grew more and more profitable and Englishmen more and more capable of carrying it on for themselves, they resented foreign competition with increasing bitterness.

The English kings, as a rule, wished to show favour to aliens, partly because they saw that much was to be gained from them, and partly, perhaps, because intermarriage with foreign royal families and intercourse with foreign countries widened their sympathies. As far as they could, they protected aliens in England; but the power of the Crown was shaken by the defective title of the Lancastrians, and by the civil wars between them and the Yorkists. Monarchs who were not firmly seated upon the throne could not venture to disregard the prejudices of the people, and therefore the worse the position of the king, the more severe was the treatment accorded to aliens. Edward III was strong enough

and wise enough to encourage Flemish weavers to settle in England, and it is mainly to them that we owe the remarkable development of the cloth manufacture in the latter half of the fourteenth century. By "letters patent" he granted alien weavers the right to dwell in England and perform their craft safely and securely; they were not to be compelled to join any gild of weavers against their will; they might choose two men of their craft to supervise their work, and to punish those working insufficiently or fraudulently; full and speedy justice was to be done regarding losses and injuries inflicted upon them. The reign of Richard III, on the other hand, is marked by one of the most drastic enactments against aliens in our Statute Book, made in one of his vain attempts to win popularity.

It is evident that many aliens migrated to England, not only in the reign of Edward III, but throughout our period. There was a great outburst of feeling against them in 1406, and they were only allowed to stay in the country on condition of paying fines. The *Close* and *Patent Rolls*, Dr. Wylie has noticed, abound with "long lists of tawyers, brewers, chapmen, furbours, skinners, armourers" and others, from Dortrecht, Brittany, Brabant, Cologne, Flanders, Gueldres, Westphalia, Milan, and Holland, who paid sums varying from 1*s.* 8*d.* to £10. We know from allusions in the *Chancery Proceedings* and other records that there were also alien goldsmiths, cordwainers, copper-founders, brick manufacturers, and other artisans. In 1439–40 sixty persons were brought from Holland and Zealand to manufacture salt in England; and in 1452–3 numerous miners came

from Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria, to work in the King's mines. Alien artisans were confronted with many difficulties in England: sometimes gilds passed restrictive ordinances against them—the Weavers of Hull would not let them set up in business without a licence from the Mayor; and the Taylors, Goldsmiths, and Cordwainers of Bristol declared (28 Henry VI) that they might not be received as apprentices. The Horners of London were so afraid that aliens would learn their trade secrets, that they petitioned Edward IV to prohibit them from buying unwrought horns in London, or within twenty miles of it, and they succeeded in gaining their request. Worse still were the false plaints of debt and actions of trespass brought against aliens, and the personal attacks made upon them. Oliver Bowthin, a Dutchman, who had sworn allegiance to the King, and had taken a house, and sold wine in London, complained to the Chancellor that William Hough of South wark and others made various assaults upon him, and he would have been killed but for the succour of his neighbours.

Alien brokers were, perhaps, the most unpopular of all aliens; they were accused of exacting usury, of making dishonest bargains, and of disclosing the secrets of the kingdom to alien merchants, so that they might enhance the prices of their own goods and lower those of the English. London even went so far as to forbid any alien to act as a broker, on pain of a fine of £20 and a year's imprisonment.

Merchants from many parts of Europe—Spain, Portugal, Italy, Prussia, Brittany, Normandy, Gascony,

Guienne, the Low Countries, and the Hanse Towns—visited England for the purposes of trade. We have already noticed the Protective measures which prevented them from importing articles which might be injurious to English industries, and they were also hampered by other restrictions. They were only allowed to stay a limited time in England; they were forbidden to sell their goods to each other, and, by an Act passed in the reign of Henry VI, they were required to lodge with "certain people called hosts," who were assigned to them by the Mayor or his deputy. The hosts were to be privy to all their sales and contracts, and they were to register all the contracts, and to send transcripts of them to the Exchequer. For this vexatious interference with their business, the merchants had to pay the hosts 2*d.* on every twenty shillings' worth of merchandise bought or sold by them. Within the franchise of the City of London no stranger might "keep house to entertain folk at table" . . . or keep "any manner of hosts or hostelry except his own household, on pain of imprisonment." Foreigners were also forbidden to wear armour, or to carry arms, unless they were the esquires of a lord or the valets of a knight; thus they could not defend themselves if attacked. They found it difficult to obtain redress for their grievances in the law-courts because juries were so prejudiced against them. Francis Dore, a merchant of Genoa, appealed to the Chancellor, because the jurors who had tried his case had declared that they would credit no Lombard. Many other aliens made similar statements about their lawsuits. Sometimes the King wished to borrow money

from alien merchants, and woe betide them if they refused to lend: in 1412 the representatives of the Venetians and the Florentines in London were summoned before the Privy Council, and told that it was usual for foreign merchants to advance money to the King, in time of need, or to go to prison. The Council asked the Venetians for £1,000 and the Florentines for £1,200; they objected to raising these sums, and so were sent to the Fleet prison, but afterwards they lent the money.

Some alien merchants were, however, specially favoured in England; the Genoese gained exemption from Henry VI's irritating orders. They were more popular than other Italians because they provided English manufacturers with raw materials for cloth dressing and dyeing, and not merely articles of luxury like the Venetians and Florentines, who brought

> "All spicerye, and of grocers ware,
> Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffere,
> Apes, and japes and marmasettes taylede,
> Trifles, trifles that litelle have availede
> . . . . .
> . . . thynges not enduryng that we bye."

The Hansards had many privileges which they had enjoyed from very early times, and they were not bound by the same restrictions as other foreigners. They had depôts in England, the most important of which was the Steelyard in London. It was situated in Thames Street, on the left bank of the river, close to Dowgate, near London Bridge, and the whole of the street was lined with their wharves, warehouses and dwellings. They had a Guildhall of their own, a great massive stone

building, and a garden where they amused themselves in moments of leisure, and where the Londoners came to buy and to drink the Rhenish wines they imported. They lived under the rule of an alderman and twelve councillors, who maintained very strict discipline, and punished disobedience to the laws of the community and quarrelling amongst members very severely. They took their meals together in the common dining-room in the Guildhall, and lived like one large household. They were not allowed to marry, and no woman was permitted to enter their precincts. The whole place was surrounded by a high wall and was as strong as a fortress; and every merchant kept a suit of armour in his room ready to put on at a moment's notice, in case of need. These precautions seem strange to us who are accustomed to a peaceful mode of life, but they were very necessary in those days.

We are so used to thinking of the Scotch as fellow-countrymen, that it requires quite an effort to remember that they were then aliens in England, and liable to be taken prisoner if they ventured to cross the Tweed without letters of safe conduct. Robert Davyson "toke in the cite of Yorke a Scot called maister John, phisician, not beyng vnder the Kyng oure soueraigne lordes saufconduyte ne proteccion." A Scottish prince, afterwards James I, was captured at sea, and was a prisoner in England for many years.

The Irish were, in some ways, treated almost as badly as if they had been aliens. In 1413, it was enacted that, for the tranquillity of England and for the "increase and enstoring of Ireland," all Irishmen should "void

the realm," except graduates in the schoools, sergeants and apprentices of the Law, persons who had inheritances in England, "Religious professed," and merchants and their apprentices. A later statute required all who remained in England to find sureties for their good behaviour. It seems, however, that the harshness with which they were treated was in a great measure due to their own bad behaviour, for this Act contains complaints of the riots, murders, robberies and other felonies committed at Oxford by "Wylde Irishmen," that is, "people born in Ireland" but not lieges of the King; consequently all Irish scholars were commanded to bring with them to the University letters testimonial under the seal of the Lieutenant, or of a Justice of Ireland, vouching for their allegiance. Irish graduates were not allowed to be principals of "Halls or Hostels." The men of Bristol showed marked antipathy to the Irish: in 1439 they forbade them to be members of their Common Council, and the Ordinances granted to the Hoopers by the town decreed that no master might take any "rebel of Irlond" as an apprentice, and ordered them to dismiss at once those whom they had in their service. The weavers also considered the employment of Irish workmen a grievance. The antagonism of these artisans seems to have been caused by a fear that the Irish would take work away from them; the geographical position of Bristol made it a convenient port for Irish immigrants, and they apparently came in larger numbers than the city desired. On the other hand, the interests of Irish manufacturers were safeguarded by the Protective Acts which prohibited the importation of foreign goods, and

the Irish also participated in the benefits secured to the English by the Navigation Acts. Their position in these respects, though not nearly as good as it is at the present time, was much better than in many of the centuries which lie between their day and our own.

Although Wales was incorporated with England, and the Welsh and English were theoretically one nation, there seems to have been a great deal of friction between them, especially in the border counties. According to the English, the Welsh behaved very badly—they committed felonies and robberies, and then fled into remote parts of Wales, where they could not be caught; and even when they did not take to flight, the King's officers were afraid to proceed against them because they avenged themselves so terribly if they were punished. What the Welsh thought of the English we are not told, but we may be pretty sure that their opinion of their neighbours was not very complimentary. The few Coroners' Rolls which still exist show that a large number of murders and homicides in self-defence took place in these counties. One small roll records six deaths, and only two of them were accidental: the first case on the membrane gives an account of a murder by a Welshman, and the fourth relates that he in his turn had been murdered. Incidents like this give us a little insight into conditions of life on the Welsh border.

Without wishing in the least to uphold the lack of generosity and good feeling shown by the English in their dealings with aliens, it seems only fair to point out that they were not more intolerant to foreigners than other nations. They were themselves subjected in

foreign countries to restrictions very similar to those which aliens experienced in England. The determination to defend their own interests and to protect themselves as far as possible against foreign competition was very strong amongst people of all nationalities, as indeed it is bound to be when the struggle for existence is keen.

CHAPTER X

FAMILY LIFE

FEW subjects are as bewildering as the marriage customs of the Middle Ages: they are so full of contradictions that to give a lucid account of them is almost as difficult as to describe the colour of a chameleon. But Family Life is so much affected by the estimation in which marriage is held, that we are forced to make an attempt to understand the medieval point of view on this important matter.

Marriage, it was held, was a sacrament and too sacred an act to come under the jurisdiction of temporal judges, therefore it was governed, not by the Common Law, but by Canon Law, and breaches of marriage vows were punished, not by the State, but by the Church; nevertheless the civic authorities sometimes took the matter into their own hands.[1] Yet in spite of this lofty conception, it was in many cases as much a business transaction as any carried on in the market-place, and the contracting parties discussed the terms of the bargain with as much keenness as chapmen haggling over the prices of their goods. The material advantages to be gained from it, the settlement of lands, or the payment of money, were the chief points at issue: compatibility

[1] See above, p. 19, and cf. p. 333.

of temper and mutual affection were hardly considered at all, at any rate amongst the aristocracy. A father writing about a marriage proposed for his son says, "I am willing to depart with him in lands and in goods, as he may lyve, so that I may have, according to reason, money; or els lands, and to give money." He adds that another gentlewoman has been suggested for his son, and the inference is that he will accept the best offer.

According to the marriage laws the consent of the parents was not necessary however young the bride and bridegroom might be, and a marriage was not valid unless they were old enough to consent to it themselves. At seven years of age they were considered capable of consent, but the marriage was voidable until they both reached the age at which it could be consummated: boys could be married when they were fourteen, and girls when they were twelve. These rules, although they seem to us to fix the age for marriage far too low, fixed it too high for the convenience of match-makers, and they were often disregarded. Sir William Plumpton arranged marriages for his two little grand-daughters, and handed them over to the care of their prospective fathers-in-law, when the elder was only four. Margaret, the daughter of Gerard Warren, was married to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, when she was eleven. It is obvious that children like this could have no choice in the matter. Under the Feudal System, on the death of a tenant who held land by military service not immediately of the Crown, the lord of the fief became guardian of the heir, or heiress, and had the power to dispose of

his or her hand in marriage, and his right held good even against the child's mother. It was a very profitable right: the lord might arrange a marriage to his own advantage, or he might sell his right for a considerable sum of money. Many instances of sales of this kind occur in *John of Gaunt's Register*, and elsewhere. Thomas, the heir of Joan Wodelok, was the ward of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester: certain persons claimed the property during the infancy of the heir, and a jury assessed the value of his marriage at £60. Testators evidently looked upon the marriages of their wards as devisable assets: Roger Flore directed that his ward should be married to his daughter, or else that the marriage should be sold and the money obtained by the sale employed to fulfil his will. It was not only guardians who sold the children who were in their care, even parents sometimes acted in the same hard-hearted manner; a man named Wyndham, mentioned in the *Paston Letters*, sold the marriage of his son to gain money, some of which he proposed to use to bring about a marriage for himself.

The evil of child-marriage seems to have been more common amongst the upper classes than in other ranks of society: the letters of the Celys and the Pastons show that as a rule men and women of the middle class did not marry until they had reached a more reasonable age, and that they had a little more chance of following their own inclinations. Elizabeth Paston was about twenty when marriage was proposed for her, and a match between Margery Paston and Sir John Cley's son was discussed when the latter was eighteen. It is rather

interesting to see what motives influenced men in their choice of a wife: a friend suggested a young gentlewoman to Richard Cely, and carefully described her prospects and the position of her father. As they were satisfactory, Richard paid a visit to her in her home, and pronounced her young, little, very well-favoured, and witty; but in spite of these charms he decided not to make up his mind until he knew what sum of money her father was willing to give with her. That was the most important point, but not the only one he took into consideration. Women were often quite as mercenary as men: one who thought of marrying George Cely, Richard's younger brother, made inquiries as to the amount of his income; another told a suitor quite plainly that she could have a larger jointure than he had offered her, and that if she took less where she could have more her friends would think her foolish. These materialistic views of marriage were due partly to the exigences of the Feudal System, partly to the desire for gain which was very strong at this time, and partly to the exaggerated admiration with which celibacy was regarded. The Church, although it called marriage a sacrament, had no real appreciation of its higher and more spiritual side, and therefore it was thought that the very pure must hold aloof from it as from a defilement. So prevalent was this feeling that the Wife of Bath, who had married five husbands and was ready to welcome a sixth, acknowledged that celibacy was a higher condition of life than marriage. Yet although this was the generally accepted theory, parents did their utmost to marry their children, and it was con-

sidered a meritorious work of charity to provide dowries for poor maidens and widows, and as beneficial to the soul of the donor as gifts to the sick and needy.

When the terms of a marriage settlement had been arranged, indentures were as a rule drawn up stating them clearly, and those concerned bound themselves by obligations to perform the covenants. Nevertheless the *Early Chancery Proceedings* prove that often the marriages did not take place, and that still more often the dowry was not paid. One of the cases preserved amongst these documents gives us an idea of the claims sometimes brought against those who broke their promises. Walter Lemster, Doctor of Physic, demanded, on behalf of his daughter-in-law, Lucy Brampton, from Richard Narborough, Doctor of Civil Law, who had broken his promise to marry her, after an engagement of ten years—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For "hir Arayment, gownys," &c. . . .	20	0	0
For the "Arayment" of her servant . . .	6	13	4
Expenses in time of sickness caused by his unkindness .	13	13	4
Expenses seeking him in London and other places to speak to him about the matter	27	16	0
Expenses and charges in the courts in London, tarrying in London to speak with him, at his special request .	48	10	0
Total	£116	12	8

Litigation was employed, not only against faithless suitors, but against parents who did not carry out their part of the agreement; a man named Henry Hoigges presented a petition to the Chancellor against John Langorthowe, and Agnes, his wife, because they had

promised him their daughter Joan in marriage and with her "xx marcs of laffull money" and had not kept their promise.

Side by side with these carefully arranged marriages, we have evidence of the existence of others of the most informal kind that could possibly be imagined. We find men and women at any time, and in any place, without the assistance of a priest, and without any religious ceremony, marrying simply by making a mutual declaration that they take each other as man and wife now, at this very minute. This espousal "by words of the present tense" constituted a marriage which could not be undone except by a Papal dispensation, or by taking religious vows. The Church did not approve of these clandestine marriages, she forbade them, enjoined penance upon those who performed them, and often insisted upon re-marriage by a priest, at the church door, but she did not pronounce the former union invalid. The temporal law, though it did not concern itself with marriages, dealt with claims to property arising out of them, and, desirous of the guarantee of publicity, declared that a widow could make no claim to a dowry, if she had not been endowed with it at the church door. Borough customs were sometimes more lenient: a jury at Wakefield recognized a son born after trothplight, but before the marriage had been solemnized at the church door, as heir to his father's property, by the custom of the district. These informal marriages were perhaps the result of a reaction against conventional arrangements, and they certainly afforded a means of escape from them. We

find it difficult to blame those who had so few other opportunities of marrying for love, but the ease and the secrecy with which they could be effected must have made them very liable to abuse, and rendered them dangerous expedients.

It is sometimes thought that in the Middle Ages men were always obliged to hold to their wives for better or worse to their lives' end. There are some grounds for this opinion, but it is not quite correct. The Church did not allow divorce in the modern sense of the word; that is to say, she taught that a valid marriage could not be dissolved; but marriages could be, and often were, annulled on the ground that some impediment existed which rendered them invalid. Consanguinity and affinity nullified marriage, but unfortunately the Canon Law on this subject was, according to Sir Frederick Pollock and Professor Maitland, extremely intricate. Marriages of persons related to each other within the fourth degree were null, and this rule applied not only to blood relations but to relations by marriage as well. A husband was related to all his wife's relations, and a wife to all her husband's. The *liaisons* of unmarried persons engendered affinity just as if they had been man and wife, and untold misery must have been caused by them, and by clandestine marriages, to the unsuspecting relatives of the parties concerned, who were unaware of the impediments thus created for them. There was also spiritual kinship; a man might not marry his godmother or her daughter. This multiplication of impediments, they tell us, "made the formation of a valid marriage a matter of chance," and their opinion is

justified by the numerous allusions in the Papal Registers to persons who had married in ignorance that they were related to each other within the prohibited degree. On one occasion, in May, 1357, no less than fifty men and as many women received dispensations to remain in marriages so contracted, because they had acted in ignorance. It was apparently not very difficult to obtain dispensations: in 1413 the Pope granted his nuncio a faculty to permit any men or women related in the third degree only, or in the third and fourth, or in the fourth and fifth, to marry; and to allow a hundred persons so related to remain in marriages already contracted, and to declare their children legitimate. Payments were made for dispensations: in one entry we read that a man and wife, John Berynton and Agnes, daughter of Hugh de Sondbache, made an agreement with the Papal camera for eight florins, with respect to the marriage which they had contracted although they knew they were related within the fourth degree. In 1361, a petition was sent to the Pope asking him to grant a dispensation and absolution to Edward, son of Edward III, and Joan, Countess of Kent, who had married although they were related in the third degree, and Edward had been sponsor to a son of Joan; and he was further asked to make a declaration that their offspring were legitimate. It was suggested that two chapels should be founded and endowed with twenty marks a year. In this instance it is obvious that the possibility of obtaining a dispensation led to a disregard for the marriage laws, for the Black Prince would never have committed an act which would have endangered

the succession of his children to the throne, unless he had been certain that the consequences of it could be avoided. Many more cases of uncanonical marriages could be quoted, but enough have been given to show how frequently they were contracted, and to prove that "marriages, or what looked like marriages, were exceedingly insecure in the Middle Ages." Unscrupulous persons, it is to be feared, turned the situation to account for their own ends: to quote the *History of English Law* once more, "in medieval practice the decree of nullity often served the purpose of a true divorce," and was very frequently called a *divortium quoad vinculum*: spouses who had quarrelled examined their pedigrees, and were unlucky if they found no *impedimentum dirimens*. In 1482, Alexander, Duke of Albany, who called himself King of Scotland, made a treaty with Edward IV, in which he promised to marry Edward's daughter Cecilia, when he could make himself clear from all other women, according to the laws of the Christian Church. He had recently married Anne de la Tour, daughter of the Count of Bologne and Auvergne, and had previously divorced another wife.

It would be interesting if we could tell whether medieval marriages turned out happily: we should not expect them to be very successful, but in real life the unexpected often happens. Some couples were undoubtedly very unhappy; an unfortunate wife applied to the official of the Prior and Convent of Durham for a separation from her husband, on account of his cruelty to her, for a process which was the equivalent of a modern "judicial separation" was permitted. A

touching scene took place in Court: the judges induced her to beg his pardon, and he forgave her and kissed her, and afterwards swore on the book that he would not put her in fear of danger to life or limb; but the fact that it was necessary to require him to take such an oath was virtually an admission that her complaints were well-founded. Another extract from the Proceedings of the same Court throws the blame on the woman: a man asked to be separated from his wife, because she wished to kill him. In other records, however, we find evidence of a much happier state of affairs: the letters written by the Pastons, the Celys, and the Stonors give the impression that husbands and wives were on good terms with each other, and that serious disagreements seldom arose between them. This is particularly striking in the case of the Pastons, because they were exceedingly quarrelsome people. Margaret Paston was a good correspondent, so we know a great deal about her: she was a very affectionate wife, and always ready to be of service to her husband. She longed for his return when he was away from home, and would have liked a letter from him every day. She was most distressed when he was angry with her, and besought him most humbly not to be displeased with her; "be my trowth," she writes, "it is not my wille nother to do ne sey that shuld cawse yow for to be displeasid; and if I have do, I am sory therof, and will amend itt. Wherefor I beseche yow to forgeve me, and that ye bere none hevenesse in your hert ayens me, for your displeasans shuld be hevy to me to indure with." She was always very deferential to him: once when

she wanted him to do a little errand for her, she wrote, as if it were a great favour, "I thanke yow that ze wolde wochesaffe to remember my gyrdyl"; and she generally addressed him as "ryth reverent and worsepful housbon," or by some equally respectful title. He was much more curt to her, and generally began his letters with "I recomaunde me unto you, letyng you to witte," or with some similar phrase; but in spite of the coldness of his manners, he seems to have been fond of her. Margery Cely, the wife of a wool merchant, whose business often forced him to go abroad, sent her husband "a hart of gold" as a token. Elizabeth Stonor, the wife of another merchant of the Staple, was very concerned about her husband's health, when he was in an infected atmosphere and in danger of catching "the poxes"; she was most anxious to be with him and wrote: "in good faith I can fynde hit in my heart to put my self in jubardy there as ye be." In another letter, she thanks her husband for wishing to have her with him, and wishes she had been; so evidently their affection was mutual. She was, however, rather a masterful woman apparently; one of her husband's correspondents grumbled bitterly about her,—"my lady your wife is resonabely stronge waxhid . . . and she toke hir will in that matter lyke as she doyth in all other." But even if she domineered over others, she seems to have been amiable to her husband.

We can gain some idea of medieval views of married life, and some additional information about it, from the literature of the period; but evidence from this source does not rank with data obtained from records of real

life, because it is coloured by the personal bias of its author. The additions made by the writers of mystery plays to Biblical narratives, and their comments upon what was going on around them in their own day, are often very curious and interesting. There are many allusions to the bad behaviour of wives and to their tyrannical treatment of their husbands; married men are very fond of making out that they are dreadfully hen-pecked, and frequently warn bachelors to beware of wedding. The quarrel of Noah and his wife is to be found in the plays which describe the Deluge: she will not go into the Ark when everything is ready and the water is beginning to rise. Noah tries to persuade her to enter, she refuses angrily, they abuse each other roundly and fight vigorously, and finally she is carried in by main force. We must not attach too much importance to the repetition of this scene; the mysteries were played to different audiences in different places, and writers copied each other very freely. We must also remember that many of the earlier plays were written by ecclesiastics, who depreciated marriage in order to honour celibacy, and that the episode once invented was retained as part of the traditional rendering of the subject. Moreover, even the mysteries contain some incidents which reflect favourably on married life. In the Townley version of *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, Abraham's heart is rent by the thought of how grieved Sarah will be at the boy's death. The King of Marcelle and his wife in the play of *Mary Magdalen* (Digby Mysteries) are a most devoted couple. In *The Dream of Pilate's Wife*, one of the York plays, Pilate shows

his affection for his wife by outspoken praises and caresses.

Chaucer has given us some very charming pictures of domestic felicity—

> "Arveragus and Dorigene his wyf
> In sovereyn blisse leden forth hir lyf.
> Never eft ne was ther angre hem bitwene;
> He cherisseth hir as though she were a quene;
> And she was to him trewe for evermore."

Yet, on the other hand, the merchant, and the host complain of the violent tempers of their wives, and it is somewhat significant that not one of the Canterbury Pilgrims brought his wife with him. Stories such as that of Alison, the flighty wife of the carpenter, in the *Miller's Tale*, which even Chaucer's wit and charm cannot redeem from coarseness, make us suspect that faithlessness to marriage vows was neither very unusual, nor very severely condemned by public opinion; for no one objected to this tale except "Osewold the Reve," and he only "blamed it" because he was a carpenter himself and did not like to hear his fellow-craftsman ridiculed. The freedom with which other writers allude to lapses from virtue also gives us a low opinion of the morality of the age; and perhaps the case of the Knight of La Tour-Landry is the most startling because his "Book" was written for the edification of his young daughters. He pours out tale after tale of the evil consequences of such misdeeds, with the admirable intention of warning them not to do likewise, but with a plainness of speech which is positively repulsive to modern readers, and which can only be explained by the

supposition that girls were frequently exposed to temptations of this kind. The calmness and approval with which he describes the punishments inflicted by husbands upon rebellious wives are almost as startling. A husband discovered that his wife had gone to a place which he had forbidden her to visit, and for purposes of which he (quite rightly) disapproved, so he rode into the town and made a covenant with a surgeon to heal two broken legs, then he came home and " toke a pestell and brake both his wyfes ys leggys, and saide to her, ' atte the hardest, for a while, thou wilt not goo ferre, and breke myn comaundement, nother y fynde the contrarye.' "

It is difficult to sum up the varied impressions gained from these different sources, and to draw any general conclusions respecting married life in the later Middle Ages. But at least it seems clear that a fair proportion of marriages turned out happily, although the standard of domestic virtue was low ; and the reasons may have been that husbands and wives did not expect much of each other and were therefore content with a little, and that human beings, and especially women, have a wonderful power of adapting themselves to circumstances. We cannot help thinking that the men and women of that day were less sensitive than ourselves to both physical and mental suffering, and therefore they could live under conditions which we should find intolerable : modern civilization has so developed, or over-developed, our nervous system that we probably feel both pain and pleasure more acutely than our ancestors. Moreover, although on the whole they jogged along fairly well together, the frequent re-marriage of widows and widowers,

while it proves that they did not consider marriage a failure, certainly does not lead us to believe that their affection was very deep or lasting. "Wyse women," says a widow, in the *Tale of Jonathas*, speaking of the death of her husband—

> "konne take it light
> And in short whyle putte vn-to the flight
> Al sorwe and wo and cacche ageyn confort."

Children were brought up very much more strictly in the Middle Ages than they are at the present day. In a little poem called *How the Good Wijf tauzte hir douztir* the mother tells her daughter how to deal with refractory children—

> "And if þi children been rebel . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . take a smert rodde, & bete hem on a rowe
> Til þei crie mercy, & be of her gilt aknowe."

Even the little Henry VI, who was a most meek and tractable child, was not spared the rod: his governor, the Earl of Warwick, was directed by the Privy Council to chastise him reasonably from time to time, as the case demanded; and it is evident that the Earl obeyed his instructions literally, for he requested the Duke of Gloucester and the Council to assist him if the King should conceive indignation against him for this reason. Grown-up daughters were subjected to very harsh treatment if they ventured to disobey their parents: Agnes Paston had chosen a husband for her daughter; he was fifty, and deformed in person, and the girl was only twenty, so she not unnaturally refused to marry him.

To bring her to submission, her mother kept her in strict seclusion, and beat her once or twice a week at least, and sometimes twice a day, so severely that her head was broken in one or two places. Margaret Paston, who, as we have seen, was such an affectionate wife, was a hard mother; she seems to have been thoroughly bored by her daughters, and anxious to rid herself of them at the earliest opportunity: "we be eyther of us werye of other," she writes of one of them, and she urges her son to find his sister a place. She turned her daughter Margery out of the house, and refused to see her, because the girl fell in love with a man of low social position, and insisted upon marrying him. The author of the *Italian Relation* was very much struck by the want of affection manifested by the English towards their children, and by the custom of boarding them out. Girls were sent away from home, and acted as servants or ladies-in-waiting to the persons in whose houses they lived. Prolonged absence tended perhaps to alienate children from their parents: those who had lived in the houses of strangers, from a very early age, had little chance of acquiring affection for their fathers and mothers. Children who went to boarding school had just as little; they did not come home for long holidays, but were at school all the year round, as they had their holidays on holy days, and these, though numerous, were not consecutive. Nor were the children of the poor much more fortunate in this respect; they were often sent out into the world to earn a living when they were very young. The remarriage of parents must sometimes have caused great complications in family life,

and quarrels resulting from them are revealed by the *Chancery Proceedings*. William Frenche, we read, by the " excitacoun " of his wife, alienated from his daughter lands due to her, and after his death, the stepmother refused to pay the compensation which the daughter ought to have received. Richard Mercer and Beatrice, his wife, petitioned the Chancellor because Beatrice's stepmother wrongfully retained goods which had been left to her by her grandmother.

The results of these methods of bringing up children were not satisfactory. It is true that they showed their parents more outward respect than children do now; for example, John Paston, the youngest, wrote to his mother: " aftyr all humbyll and most dwe recomendacion, as lowly as I can, I beseche yow of your blyssyng "; but often these protestations ring hollow. The petitions laid before the Chancellor by aggrieved parents point to a considerable lack of filial affection,—Thomas Grey declares that he has been wrongfully imprisoned by his son, upon " vntreu suytes." Joan, the widow of John Affeton, asks for aid against her daughter and her daughter's husband who have deprived her of the lands, which were her dower. Some parents even complain of assaults made upon them by their children. An agreement drawn up between James, Lord Berkeley, and his son William is very significant; it stipulates that William shall not come into the lordship of Berkeley with more than ten persons, that he shall come peaceably, give notice to his father half a day before he comes, and not stay more than seven days. Relations between father and son must indeed have been strained for such an

arrangement to have been necessary. Testators sometimes exhibit great uneasiness as to what their sons may do after their deaths: Roger Rokewoode of Euston left £24 to his son on condition that he did not "trouble" or "lete" the will, but if he did, he was to forfeit the legacy.

The lot of children who had parents, even if they were rather harsh, was, however, far better than that of orphans. The wardship of heirs of men who held land by military service belonged, as we have seen, to the feudal lord, and he had the control both of their property and of their persons during their minority. The lord was required to restore the property uninjured when the heir attained his majority, but until then he took all the issues, on condition that he maintained the child, and performed any services due from his ward. If the guardian very seriously neglected his duty an appeal might be made to his superior lord, but it must have been very difficult to obtain redress against powerful nobles. Some of the *Chancery Proceedings* show to what serious dangers orphans were exposed: Agnes Terry declared that her guardian sold and alienated her lands, imprisoned her in a chamber for forty weeks, and so ill-treated her that she was "enfeblisshed in brayne," in order that he might marry her "to his entent" and have her goods and chattels at "his owne rule." He then took her by night, in a page's clothing, into Hampshire, and married her to a man who had bound himself by an obligation to abide his rule and judgment in all things and causes between them, and who gave him an acquittance of all actions. The helplessness of feudal wards was indeed

pitiable, but happily, with the decrease of feudal tenure, their number was diminishing.

Orphans of townsmen were better protected during their minority than those of feudal nobles: in many towns the mayor and aldermen had the wardship of all orphans, unless their parents arranged otherwise by will. They appointed guardians who were answerable to them, and who were obliged to bind themselves by recognizances to treat their charges well. The control of the borough officials was not a mere matter of form: at Fordwich and elsewhere the mayor and jurats made a survey yearly, when they saw occasion, of the estates of orphans. Thus it will be seen that municipal wardship was a trust under the superintendence of the borough council. The ward, when he came of age, could demand the restoration of his property, and could call upon his guardian to account for all the profits which had accrued during his minority. We have in Mr. Riley's *Memorials of London* a specimen of one of these accounts, rendered by the guardian to auditors appointed to receive it. The guardian had been entrusted with £300 belonging to the child, and had traded with the money for thirteen years. The sum of four shillings had been paid yearly for the use of every pound, so by the end of the time, the original sum and the profits together amounted to £1,080. The guardian was allowed to take two shillings on every pound earned, for his trouble, and therefore had kept £390; and he had spent £119 18*s.* 8*d.* on the boy's education and maintenance. So after having been adequately fed, clothed, and taught for thirteen years, the ward found himself in possession of £580 1*s.* 4*d.*, nearly twice

as much as he had owned at first. Some boroughs also provided legal aid for widows and orphans : at Hereford, the bailiff and steward were ordered to help them at all times, both in court and out of it, if any wrong or injustice were done to them.

In their care for orphans, as in their management of poor relief, the townspeople showed themselves the most enlightened class in the community, but as a rule too little attention was paid to the needs of children, and too little thought bestowed upon them. There were, of course, some exceptions ; parental affection is, happily, too essential a part of human nature to be entirely absent in any generation, and we find evidences of it both in literature and in records of real life. Writers of mystery plays dealing with the massacre of the innocents show us the intensity of maternal love in the fierce resistance offered by the mothers to Herod's soldiers who come to kill their sons,—weak women, with no weapons but their distaffs, are not afraid to attack armed soldiers. Softer and gentler, but not less deep, is the love of a father depicted in a beautiful fourteenth century poem called *Pearl* ; his little daughter dies ; he is broken-hearted at her loss and is only comforted by a vision of her in Paradise. " My lady," says one of Thomas Stonor's correspondents, speaking of the Duchess of Suffolk, who was separated from her children, " thought full longe fro þe yonge lord and yonge ladies," but passages like this are, we must admit, rare in medieval letters. On the whole, we believe that the lives of children were not nearly as happy, and that their welfare was not considered of nearly as much conse-

quence in those days as at the present time. The responsibilities of family life rested lightly upon the shoulders of parents, perhaps because they were so often hurried into marriage before they were fit for it. This was a misfortune, not only for the children, whose characters were stunted or embittered by neglect or harsh treatment, but also for the nation, because sound and healthy family life is the basis of sound and healthy national life. For this reason, though not for this alone, the decay of feudalism, which set the obligations of military service far above the claims of family life, was an event of immense social importance, fraught with hopeful possibilities for the development of the nation.

CHAPTER XI

"METE AND DRINKE"

LOVE of good cheer was a marked characteristic of our ancestors in the Middle Ages: great events were celebrated by banquets, and feasting played an important part both in public and private life. The high estimation in which "mete and drinke" were held may be seen by the custom of sending gifts of food to friends and patrons,—the University of Cambridge often presented great men like the Earl of Oxford and the Bishop of Ely with fish, wine, sugar and comfits, and towns treated those whose favour they wished to gain in the same way. The highest nobles in the land did not disdain to give or receive such presents either from equals or inferiors. It was not considered in the least undignified for the King and Queen to accept smiliar tributes from their subjects: when Magaret of Anjou went to Coventry to see the Corpus Christi plays, the Mayor and his brethren gave her three hundred loaves of fine bread, a pipe of red wine, a dozen capons, a dozen "grete fat pykes" and other dainties. Norwich sent the King twenty-four herring pies as part of the fee farm of the city. Loyalty was sometimes rewarded by grants of food or wine; thus Henry IV annually bestowed four does, six bucks, and two casks of wine upon the town of Cirencester, for service in capturing the

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

A Banquet—The Mayor of Lynn entertaining Edward III.
From the Sepulchral Brass of Robert Braunche, of Lynn;
Lacroix, *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance.*

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

Servants carrying the Dinner from the Kitchen to the Hall.
Loutterell Psalter; Vetusta Monumenta.

[*To face p. 134.*

Earls of Kent and Salisbury when they rebelled against him. Justices were often entertained very liberally when they were on circuit,—a swan and a peacock were amongst the items of a breakfast prepared for them at Norwich in July, 1448; they had their own cook with them, and he helped in the kitchen. Reconciliations at "love-days" were always celebrated by wine-drinking, and sometimes by feasting as well. Private individuals adopted the curious plan of sending out dinners, and dining with the persons to whom they had been sent, when they wished to pay any one a great compliment: the Mayor and Mayoress of Norwich treated Margaret Paston in this way, and she was very gratified.

Accounts of banquets and some of the medieval cookery books have come down to us, so we can tell what food and what kind of cookery people liked in those days. Amongst these books is the *Forme of Cury*, a collection of receipts com[illegible] of Richard II, a monarc[illegible] was fashionable to have French cooks, and consequently many of the receipts ar[illegible] written in English. The [illegible] large proportion of heavy [illegible] used pork a great deal mo[illegible] all a plebian dish; it was [illegible] of a grand feast given b[illegible] Richard II. It was even thoug[illegible] stews and soups in the summer. Sometimes they pounded up pork and veal and put them together, which, to us, seems a peculiar mixture. Even more curious is a combination found in a dish called "*Cokyntryce*":

the cook is directed to take a capon, scald it, clean it, and "smyte" it in two at the waist, and to do the same to a pig, and then to sew the fore part of the capon to the hind part of the pig, and fore part of the pig to the hind part of the capon, and to stuff them like a pig. This was considered a royal meat. They had game of all sorts, and plenty of poultry; in short, everything that we have except turkeys, and they also ate peacocks, gulls, swans, herons and cranes. A good deal of fish was eaten, as it was the staple food on fast days, and they were numerous: perhaps abstinence on these days counterbalanced the heaviness of their diet at other times. The monotony of eating the same kind of food for weeks together, as in Lent, was relieved by the many varieties of fish available, and by the ingenuity shown in cooking them. Medieval cooks flavoured some of their dishes so highly that it must have been impossible to tell whether they were made of fish or meat, and they were as clever at imitating meat dishes as vegetarians nowadays. In a dinner of fish provided on the occasion of the funeral of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, no less than eighteen different kinds of fish are mentioned. Stockfish, which are almost unknown to us, though still used in Germany and Norway, were so much in demand that vessels went to the shores of Iceland to fetch them, and there were special stock-fishmongers who made a living by selling them and nothing else. They seem to have been cod or ling dried in the sun, and are said to have been so called from being beaten on a stock, or else from being hard like a stock (wood). We do not know greenfish either, under that name, but

it was only ling dried in such a way as to have a green tint. They used other fish also which we know well enough, but do not consider edible—porpoise, sword-fish, and dog-fish.

Their methods of cooking do not always appeal to us; they seldom served joints of meat, but were fond of making "mortrews" of it by cutting it up into small pieces, boiling it, grinding it in a mortar, and passing it through a strainer. When they had thus reduced it to a pulp, they added all kinds of spices—cloves, mace, "guybibes," cinnamon—herbs, "galyngale" ("the aromatical root of the rush called Cypresse"), salt, sugar or honey, and perhaps almonds, minced dates, raisins, and grated bread as well. Sometimes they blended all the ingredients together with the yolks of eggs. They frequently "tempered" their dishes with vinegar, verjuice (the juice of sour apples or of unripe grapes), wine or ale. In *Maumenny Ryalle* ale and "mythty" wine were both used. With so many condiments the flavour of the meat must have been overpowered, and we suspect that they used them on purpose to hide it. The quality of their meat was undoubtedly inferior to ours, even when it was fresh, and it must sometimes have been very tough, for it was only kept three days in the summer, and four in the winter. From the accusations brought by juries of presentment we gather that it was by no means uncommon for butchers to sell bad meat, but during many months of the year they had little or no fresh meat except pork. As they had no winter food for their cattle they were obliged to kill most of it off in the autumn, and to preserve the carcases in salt,

and they also cured a good deal of their fish. Under these circumstances game was a great boon to them, and hunting and hawking were not merely sports, but means of obtaining fresh food. They made mortrews of fish and game just as they did of meat, but sometimes they cooked them more simply: salmon and trout were roasted on a gridiron, and then boiled, and served cold with a "sauce of water, parcelly, and salt." Crabs and lobsters were boiled in plain water, or baked in an oven; flounders, bream, and roach were boiled in ale, mixed with salt and water. Game was frequently roasted whole, but sometimes it was boiled or stewed. There were many kinds of tarts and pies, made of pastry filled with meat, game, fish or fruit; they were called by the somewhat gruesome name of "coffyns." They also had steaks of venison or beef, cooked on a girdle, meat fritters, and even a "*blaunche mang of flesshe.*"

There were innumerable potages and bruets (soups and broths), and into some of them vegetables such as peas, leeks, cabbages, onions, turnips, and parsnips were put; and we occasionally hear of mushrooms and "nettilles" in addition. One dish known as *Joutes* consisted of borage, violet, mallows, parsley, young cabbages, beet, avence, ox-tongue, "orage" and two or three marrow-bones, boiled in fresh broth and seasoned with saffron and salt: it was served with boiled bacon. Recipes for a few vegetable soups are included in the cookery books, and one or two vegetables were cooked by themselves, and they were also used in sauces. There are directions for making a salad in the *Forme of Cury*, but salads are not often mentioned.

Some of their sweets were very similar to those we have. We read of cheesecakes, pancakes, and fritters, some made only of flour, batter and sugar, others with apples and ale, or figs, in addition. A recipe for "*Mylk Rostid*" runs thus,—"Swynge (beat) egges and sweet mylk togedur, put ther to saffron, and boil it till it be thik:" it is obviously very like custard. Some of their dishes were very extravagant: for one, a "meselade," a thousand eggs or more were required. Almonds, almond milk, and flour of rice were favourite ingredients, and they did not omit spices, although we should have thought they had had quite enough of them in their other dishes. Quinces or warden pears pounded, flavoured in the usual fashion, and afterwards boiled, were pronounced "comfortable for a mannys body"; other fruits, and even cherries and strawberries, which we should have thought worthy of a better fate, were cooked in the same way. They do not appear to have cultivated raspberries and currants, but they certainly had mulberries, medlars, oranges, lemons, olives, peaches, plums, nuts, and grapes. Apples and cherries seem to have been amongst their favourite fruits. But we do not think that they valued fruit and vegetables as much as many other kinds of food, for although there were plenty of butchers, bakers, fishmongers, grocers, vintners, and brewers, there were very few fruiterers. It is true that many people had gardens or orchards, and they grew their own fruit and vegetables, and sold, or allowed their gardeners to sell, the surplus product John of Gaunt paid his gardener twopence a day, and permitted him to sell the "fruitȝ" and "herbages"

growing in it, after the household had been supplied with all it needed. The gardener provided all that was required for the garden except "railles et verges." In 1345 a petition was presented to the Mayor of London, by the gardeners of the earls, barons, bishops, and citizens of the city: from it and the Mayor's answer it appears that they had been in the habit of standing at the side of the gate of St. Paul's Churchyard to sell the garden produce of their masters, "pulse, cherries, vegetables and other wares to their trade pertaining," and they were allowed to continue the practice, but were ordered to stand in a different place. In an account roll kept by the gardener of the Bishop of Ely, from Michaelmas, 1372, to June, 1373, we find amongst the receipts money obtained by the sale of "onions, garlic, lekes, parseley, hyssop, savoury, peas . . . and cabbages" grown in his garden in Holborn. But the supplies obtained from such a source as this must have been small and uncertain.

Cooks took great pride in decorating their dishes prettily: they garnished them with almonds, cloves, pynes, (probably the seeds of firs), and hard yolks of eggs, and strewed comfits over them. Sometimes they stirred chopped flowers—voilets, red roses, or primroses—into the mixture of which the sweet was made, and put branches of the same flowers on the top of it. "Wild werks," that is fanciful ornaments made of pastry, were laid on the "liddes" of meat tarts, and were glazed with eggs. They were exceedingly fond of colouring all kinds of food: a yellow tint was obtained from saffron, green from the leaves of leeks with a little saffron added

to them, and other colours from other sources. Sometimes different colours were employed for different parts of the same dish, thus in "*Vn Vyaunde furnez sanz nom de chare*" one part was white, another yellow, another green, and the fourth black. Peacocks were put back into their skins and feathers after they had been cooked: with their tails spread out and their combs gilded they must have looked magnificent. Sometimes shields were suspended from their necks, or from the necks of other birds, and the arms of the giver of the entertainment emblazoned upon them. At the conclusion of each course, and occasionally at the beginning also, a subtlety was brought in: it was a "device" made apparently in sugar, pastry, and jelly. The designs of subtleties in some cases were extremely elaborate, and if events of importance were going on, allusions were made to them: at the Coronation feast of Queen Katherine, whose marriage with Henry V was expected to end the war with France, one of the devices consisted of "dyuerse fygures of aungellys, amonge the which was set an image of Seynt Katheryne holdynge this reson, *Il est escrit, pur voir et dit, per mariage pur cest guerre ne dure.*" Some very extraordinary subtleties were presented at the installation of John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1443; one of them depicted the Trinity "sitting in a son of gold, with a crucyfix in his honde," St. Thomas on one side, and St. Austin on the other. The Archbishop, in his robes, and with his crosier, knelt in the foreground, with the Prior of Christchurch, and the Abbot of "Seint Austyns" one on either side of him. An attempt to represent such a subject in such a manner

strikes us as very profane, but we may be sure that the makers of the subtlety meant no harm, and that it did not offend the religious susceptibilities of the guests. Medieval artists boldly tried to put into concrete form many things which we think inexpressible: these cooks were artists in their humble way, and their efforts afford us illustrations of the medieval love of pageantry, which we have already noticed in other forms.

To us the dinner table would have seemed a little bare before the meal began; it was covered with a fine cloth, or with two or three cloths, one on the top of the other, but there were no flowers. Each guest had a napkin, a knife and a spoon which he used throughout the whole meal, and rolls of white bread to eat. But when it was loaded with viands we may be sure it looked full enough, and the plate was often very beautiful. In a conspicuous place stood the chief salt-cellar, curiously wrought and often of a fantastic shape: Queen Philippa had one formed of an elephant bearing a castle, with five standards with divers arms standing on the battlements. On great occasions the dishes were of silver, or pewter; square trenchers made of bread cut from stale loaves were used, but sometimes a silver platter was placed under the trencher. Many of the cups were of chased silver, wholly or partially gilt; one mentioned in a will, dated 1434, was of silver, with a gilt cover, and on it were engraved the names of the three kings, "Jaspar, Melchiser, and Balteser." They also had carved wooden goblets called mazers, and cups of tin, brass, and latten which was an alloy resembling brass. They very seldom used glass or china drinking vessels, though they had

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

1. A Mazer Bowl, late Fifteenth Century

2. Medieval Pottery, found in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, London.

Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England.*

[*To face p. 142.*

" erthen pottis for wyne & ale," and also for cooking purposes; some of them must have been fire-proof, as they were put on the fire. Specimens of this Early English pottery may be seen at the British Museum: it is coloured and glazed, but very thick and clumsy.

Medieval banquets were very lengthy; nominally there were three courses, but a course often consisted of eleven or twelve different dishes. They were brought to the entrance of the hall, with great ceremony, by the servants of the kitchen, and there handed over to the superior servants, who marched in, preceded by minstrels, and carried them to the tables. Many kinds of wine were drunk: Russell, the usher of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, enumerates fifteen " swete wynes," in his *Boke of Nurture*, and more could be added from other sources. To specify every one of them would be tedious, and it will suffice to say that they included vernage, a red wine which came from Tuscany, " muscadelle," wines from Spain and Portugal, such as bastard and osey, " capric " possibly from the Island of Capri, or Cyprus, " Greke Malevesyn " (malmsey), claret, Gascony, Rochelle, and Rhenish wines. Even from this abbreviated list it will be seen that the products of many foreign countries contributed to foster the luxurious tastes of English epicures. They had in addition, wines mixed with honey and spices, which were known as *piments*, probably because *pigmentarii* or apothecaries originally prepared them. One of the most popular of these *piments* was hippocras; it was served, with dessert and wafers, at the conclusion of all important banquets, and as soon as it had been drunk, the company dispersed.

Wine and spices were sometimes served after dinner, or just before retiring to bed, and they were brought in at other times "to make good cheer," or to welcome honoured guests. When Richard II visited the King of France, on the eve of his marriage with the French princess, Isabella, the two monarchs were ceremoniously presented with "the comfit box" and the "cup of wine" by the greatest nobles of their respective realms. Ale and beer were drunk as well as wine, not only at dinner and supper, but also at breakfast, and we hear of "drinkings" between meals. These "dyuerse drynkes" were not all very wholesome, it seems, for Russell advised his readers to eat a raw apple if they disagreed with them, but perhaps they mixed their beverages rather injudiciously. "He," writes one of John Paston's correspondents, referring to the Bishop of Norwich, "comaunded me to be had into the selar,[1] and for to drynk wyne and ale bothe."

In the Middle Ages, no doubt because it was so difficult to obtain good artificial light, men got up, and went to bed, earlier than we do, consequently they had their meals earlier: dinner took place about noon, or a little before it, and supper about five o'clock. The time for breakfast varied, and often it consisted only of bread, and wine or ale, though occasionally people had more substantial food. A meal after supper, called, for this reason, a rere-supper, was sometimes taken, but it was thought an unnecessary indulgence, and was not required unless late hours were kept. The Knight of

[1] i.e., soler: an upper room. J. O. Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words.*

La Tour-Landry thoroughly disapproved of it, and told his daughters a most gloomy tale of the misfortunes which befell a wilful young woman who "wold haue rere sopers whanne her fader and moder was a-bedde."

From the number of books written in the fifteenth century to teach "gentylmon, ȝoman, or knaue" "the way of dining," we may conclude that good manners at meals were recognized as very desirable; but from the directions given we gather that though the behaviour of our ancestors was in some respects very ceremonious, in others it was very rough. The *Boke of Curtasye* tells the aspirant to "nurture," not to cram out his cheeks with food like an ape, or to blow on it, or to leave his spoon in the dish; and warns him against many a similar gaucherie. An exhortation not to wipe his eyes or his teeth on the tablecloth makes us realize the inconvenience of having no handkerchiefs. People washed their hands with much solemnity both before and after dinner, but this was a matter of necessity, not an idle ceremony, as they had no forks, but only knives and spoons, and were therefore obliged to use their fingers in a way which would, perhaps, have disgusted us. They thought it very bad manners to put their knives into their mouths, but it was quite allowable to dip sops or morsels into the soups or sauces. To manage this without letting drops fall either upon themselves or the tablecloth, was an accomplishment only acquired by those who were "at mete wel y-taught."

Most of the cookery books we have quoted were written for the instruction of cooks in aristocratic households; but the mode of living of men of lower

rank is quite as interesting as that of the nobles. A menu of "*a fest for a franklen*," drawn up by Russell, consisted of two courses which included brawn, bacon and pease, beef, boiled chicken, roast goose and pig, veal, lamb, fritters and other items, and these were followed by spiced apples and pears, bread and cheese, spiced cakes and wafers, with bragot (a drink made of ale, honey, and spices, or of the two latter ingredients without the ale) and mead, which was made of honey and water. Wines are not mentioned, but we know from Chaucer's description of the franklin in the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*, that it was not lacking. In 1505, for a lord mayor's feast a tun of red wine, a pipe of claret, a hogshead of white wine, forty gallons of "ypocras," and twenty-eight barrels of ale were provided. Gilds gave feasts to their members once a year at least, and sometimes oftener: the Corpus Christi Gild, at Coventry, had a Lenten dinner, a goose dinner, and a venison dinner, and in 1492 spent £26 on feasts. The Corpus Christi Gild, of Bury St. Edmunds, at its feast in 1490, consumed ten lambs, two calves, sixteen pigs, seventy chickens, and a hundred pigeons. But these were comparatively rare occurrences, and we should like to know something about the daily food of the poor. Unfortunately we have very little direct evidence from actual facts: Miss S. E. Moffatt, writing in the *Victoria County History* (Rutland), says that the food of reapers at Oakham, in 1349, was bread, beer, flesh, herrings, and other fish. Sir John Cullum, quoting from the bailiff's accounts of Hawstead (Suffolk), for 1359, says that many poor land-holders, who worked in

hay-time and harvest-time for their lords, had no other allowance of animal food than two herrings a day each, some milk from the manor dairy to make cheese, a loaf (fifteen of which were made from a bushell of wheat), and drink. He adds that, in 1388, reapers hired by the day were fed on bread and herrings. The *Forme of Cury* speaks of beans and bacon as the food of the poorer householder, and this is confirmed by a passage in *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, which also tells us that the poor had vegetables cooked without meat, water to drink, and "mene-mong corn bred" (a common or mixed sort of bread). There were many different kinds of bread, and only the well-to-do could afford the best. Piers, the Plowman, in the work that bears that name, says he has only two fresh cheeses, a few curds and cream, an oaten cake, two loaves of beans and bran, some parsley and onions, and many cabbages; and he owned a small piece of land. The same poem describes the fare of a man with nothing but his "crafte" to depend on, and many mouths to feed: he was a little better off than Piers; he had bread and small beer, cold flesh and fish, and on

> "Fridayes and fastyng-dayes a ferthyng-worth of muscles
> Were a feste for suche folke."

Chaucer was also impressed by the scantiness of the poor man's fare. In the *Romaunt of the Rose* we find these lines:—

> . . . "Al to selde, y-wis,
> Is any povre man wel fed."

A poor widow in the *Nonne Prestes Tale*, who supported herself and her two daughters by husbandry, and who

was a "deye" (a kind of dairymaid), had no wine, but lived mainly upon milk and brown bread, broiled bacon, and sometimes an egg or two. We ought not, perhaps, to attach as much importance to information obtained from literary works as from historical documents, but the resemblance between the pictures drawn by these writers and the statements of Sir John Cullum give both of them additional value. Miss Moffat's account of the food of the Rutland reapers is more cheerful, but on the whole we obtain from these sources a far less favourable impression of the lot of the working classes than from the statistics of Professor Thorold Rogers. He held that in the latter half of the fourteenth century an agricultural labourer, who had no land of his own, but worked for hire, would receive 16*s.* 4*d.* in money wages, and an allowance of corn worth £1 5*s.*, in the course of the year; and that if his wife and son worked for a hundred days each, they would earn £1 4*s.* 8*d.* Their united earnings, he thought, would enable them not only to live comfortably, but also to save money. In another passage he estimated the cost of living for a peasant's family consisting of four persons, the father being a farmer who cultivated twenty acres of arable land. He allowed 17*s.* for clothing, £1 3*s.* 6*d.* for wheat, 7*s.* 7*d.* for beer, a sum which would provide four gallons a week, and 16*s.* 8*d.* for meat, which would buy eight hundred pounds, reckoning the price as a farthing a pound. The farmer, he believed, would make a profit of £3 on his land after he had paid a rent of sixpence an acre, and would perhaps earn £1 by working for other men in hay- and harvest-time; he, of course, having a fair sized piece of land,

was in a much more comfortable position than the abourer, and better able to supply all the wants of his family, and to accumulate money. These computations are exceedingly ingenious and interesting, but they do not seem to us to make sufficient allowance for untoward circumstances: much hardship might be caused to the labourer by a long spell of sickness and consequent unemployment; and sickness was by no means rare in those days. Moreover, even if he were always in good health, he could not work on three hundred days in the year, as Professor Thorold Rogers says, because holy days were so numerous that there were only two hundred and sixty working days. A bad harvest might raise prices so much that it would be impossible for the labourer to live on his income, and the farmer would suffer as a consumer though he would gain as a producer. "The nexte yeer aftir," says the *English Chronicle* in 1434–5, "began the grete derthe of corn in this land, the whiche endurid ij yeer, so that a busshelle of whete was sold for xl d., & the poer peple in dyuers parties of the Northcuntre eet breed maad of farn rotes." The account is perhaps exaggerated, but it will serve to give us some idea of the effects of bad harvests. The assumption that the farmer's family consisted of only four persons—that is, the farmer himself, his wife, and two children—seems to us to invite criticism; it is highly probable that many farmers had larger families than this, and every additional child too young to earn money would increase the father's expenses without adding to his income. For these reasons we think that the struggle for existence was keener than Professor Thorold

Rogers would lead us to believe; but it is also possible that Langland, in his ardour for social reform, has unconsciously given us too gloomy a view of it, and we should, perhaps, approximate most nearly to the truth if we pictured to ourselves a lot rather better than that of Piers, but not as good as that of the Professor's landless labourer. We must, however, bear in mind that there were varying degrees of prosperity in different parts of the country, and that in a long period of time such as we are studying there must have been many ups and downs of fortune. In the fifteenth century wages rose to a greater extent than prices, and we should therefore expect the working classes to be able to live more comfortably and to afford better food than in the fourteenth century. There is abundant evidence in the *Early Chancery Proceedings* that artisans could save a considerable amount of money. From the same source, from the Court Rolls of Tooting Bec Manor and from their wills, we also know that many of them possessed landed property. The position of the labourer and the farmer is a more difficult question: there are a few references to their savings in the *Early Chancery Proceedings*, which give the impression that they were fairly prosperous, and the wills of two labourers in the registry at Bury St. Edmunds show that each of them was possessed of a tenement, some goods and chattels, and a little money; but on the other hand some of them must have suffered from the growing tendency of landowners to convert arable land into pasturage for sheep. The practice was harmful to them, not only because it decreased the demand for agricultural labour,

but also because it sometimes led to the displacement of small tenants from their holdings.

It is interesting to compare the sums of money expended on food, or which it was held might legitimately be expended, by men of different classes. The Household Ordinances of Edward III allowed 13*s.* 4*d.* a day for the "diette" of a duke, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for that of an earl. The Liber Niger of Edward IV decreed that a queen should pay 40*s.* a day for her board. In 1485, Henry VII paid 40*s.* a week for the board of the Earl of Surrey, 10*s.* for that of Sir Thomas Dalalaund, knight, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for that of a priest, when they were all his prisoners. The allowance made to artisans and labourers in lieu of food was as a rule from tenpence to a shilling a week in the fifteenth century; and Thomas Welleys, husbandman, at some date between 1475 and 1485, agreed to pay 6*d.* a week for the board of a kinswoman, Margaret Kyvet, a sum equivalent to about six shillings in modern money.

Our study of the "mete and drinke" of the men of the later Middle Ages has revealed one or two points with especial clearness: it is evident that much attention was devoted to cooking, and that the rich had almost "every comestible animal," but between their luxurious fare and the daily food of the poor there was, we fear, a very great contrast.

CHAPTER XII

THE MIRROR OF FASHION

To attempt in a little book dealing with many aspects of social life to give an account of all the different garments worn by English men and women during the long period under our consideration would be impossible, but to choose from among changing fashions features which could be pronounced typical of the age as a whole would be almost as difficult, and we find ourselves on the horns of a very awkward dilemma. The most we can hope to do is to give a few examples of the most striking modes of dress in use at the time, and some slight indication of the trend of its development. We are, however, comforted by the knowledge that costume in England has been so admirably described by other writers that our deficiencies can be easily made good by reference to their works, and that after all it is not so much the actual cut of the clothes worn by our ancestors which is of interest to us, but their significance. Even at the present day when there is comparatively little variety in clothing, and comparatively little importance is attached to it, a discerning eye can gain from a man's dress some idea of his character. But in the Middle Ages there was so much more choice both of material and of colour, so much more scope for fancy and in-

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1.—Men's Costumes, end Fourteenth Century.
Harl. MS. 1319; Fairholt, *Costume in England.*

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2.—A Gentleman of the late Fifteenth Century.
From a wall-painting in Winchester Cathedral.
Fairholt, *ibid.*

Photo. *C. W. Arding.*

The Children of Edward III on His Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

[*To face p. 152.*

genuity, and so much more attention was devoted to dress, that we are able to form from it a far more accurate estimate of the taste and temperament of the wearer. Our judges and barristers and the heads of our universities are arrayed in robes of office, some of our public servants have distinctive uniforms, and court-dress is worn on state occasions, because we cannot entirely rid ourselves of the idea that a man's status may be typified, and his authority increased, by his clothes. But in those days no one doubted that this was the case, and consequently fashion was a mirror which reflected the life and manners of the age. Kingly dignity was enhanced by long sweeping robes of gorgeous colour and rich texture ; civic pride delighted in the brilliant attire of the mayor and sheriffs ; the livery worn by their numerous retainers was an outward and visible sign of the power of the nobles, and the " clothing " of the craft-gilds a tacit recognition of the part played by them in the organization of industry.

In the reign of Edward II the courtiers showed a great love of fine clothes ; at first it did not spread beyond the court, but soon all classes were infected by it, and a great development of the art of dress began. Men's clothes were quite as elaborate and fanciful as women's ; indeed, if anything, men seem to have been vainer than women, and there are more changes to chronicle in masculine than in feminine costume during our period. But in one respect—the extravagance of their head-dresses—women far surpassed men. The most usual dress for men in Edward III's reign was a short close-fitting tunic (called a cote-hardie), which followed the lines of the

figure; it was generally fastened down the front with buttons, and had simple "coat" sleeves, which were also sometimes ornamented with buttons. A girdle was worn round the hips, and to it a purse, and a dagger, or trifles of any kind could be attached. The lower limbs were encased in tight "chausses," which were breeches and stockings all in one: the shoes were pointed. Over the tunic a long outer mantle was sometimes placed, part of it being thrown back so as to show the under garment; and sometimes one long voluminous gown was worn instead of the other two. These three types of costume can be seen in the small bronze figures of the sons of Edward III, on the side of his tomb, in Westminster Abbey. His daughters are represented as clad in long gowns which reach right down to the ground and hide their feet; the bodices fit closely and are cut rather low in the neck; from the sleeves of his elder daughter, Blanche de la Tour, long streamers hang down, and she has two vertical pockets into which her hands are thrust. In these figures we have specimens of medieval dress at its best, and they are all pervaded by a feeling of quiet dignity and restraint.

Costume in the time of Richard II was imbued with a very different spirit. The King and his favourites vied with each other in extravagance and eccentricity, and other classes in the community tried to copy them. An illuminated manuscript, now in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.*, 1319), written by a French gentleman who accompanied Richard II to Ireland, just before his deposition, enables us to judge of their appearance for ourselves. Long gowns with collars so high that the

chins seem imbedded in them were very popular, but short gowns were also in use. The sleeves were both long and full, and look extremely ridiculous with short gowns; their edges and those of the gowns were cut in scollops, or in the shape of leaves or other ornaments. This process was called "dagging": it and other follies of fashion were very severely condemned by moralists. The author of *Richard the Redeless* declared that men carved their cloth all to pieces so that it took seven good sewers six weeks to put it together again, and that if their sleeves did not "slide on the erthe" they were "wroth as the wynde." In a passage full of bitter irony, describing how "Witt" (Wisdom) was driven out of the King's household, he speaks of the courtiers as sleeves, as if they were unworthy of the name of men. The excessive tightness of the chausses excited the scorn of another writer: "galauntes, purs penyles," he says when other men kneel to pray, are obliged to stand "at here helys" for fear of hurting "here hosyn" and their long toes. These last words refer to the custom of wearing shoes with long pointed toes which projected far beyond the end of the foot: it is said to have been introduced into England by Richard's wife, Anne of Bohemia, and the shoes were called "*cracowes*," probably because they came from Cracow, in Poland, which was then incorporated with Bohemia, and they were also called "*poleyns*" for the same reason. In spite of the inconvenience they must have caused, they remained in favour a very long time; in 1463–4 a sumptuary law declared that no one under the estate of a lord might use "shoes or boteux, havyng pykes passyng the

lengh of ii ynches," but neither this prohibition, nor a Papal bull forbidding cordwainers to make them, had much effect. In Henry VI's reign pattens were placed under the shoes, and an excellent example of them may be seen in the picture of King John in Lydgate's *Metricial Chronical* (*Cott. MS. Julius E. iv.* Part I. f. 5): in Richard III's reign a change occurred, and they became short and broad. The upper leather was sometimes cut into beautiful designs resembling the tracery of window-heads, and the bright coloured stockings underneath hem showed through the openings: a parish clerk in the *Milleres Tale*, we remember, had—

". . . Powles window corven on his shoos."

Curiously enough in one of the drawings of paintings which once decorated the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, a pair of shoes of exactly this design has been reproduced.

From the history of shoes it will be seen that medieval fashions did not change rapidly, but often lasted for years and years: there were fewer opportunities for interchange of ideas and for the dissemination of novelties than under the conditions of modern civilization, and the current of life ran more slowly. This makes it very difficult to date any mode of dress very accurately, and in addition, then as now, some people were more advanced in their views than others, and consequently it is not wise to dogmatize as to the exact duration of any particular fashion. The same lack of uniformity may be noticed in other phases of life in the Middle Ages, for the same reason.

Women, in the time of Richard II, wore long gowns with tight-fitting bodices, sometimes with, and sometimes without, mantles over them. Their hair was carefully plaited and put into " cauls " made of a network of gold wire, strengthened with bars of gold. Sometimes they were comparatively simple, as in the case of Blanche de la Tour, and sometimes they were decorated with jewels, and a veil was worn over them. It was considered improper for any hair to escape from the head-dress, so ladies carried small pairs of tweezers in their purses in order that they might be able, at any moment, to cut off the short hair at the back of their necks. They also plucked out some of their front hair to make their foreheads seem higher. Very rich materials were used for the garments of wealthy persons of both sexes—silk, satin, velvet, and brocade. The skill of the embroiderer was often called into requisition, and both pride of family and a passion for heraldry were betrayed in their fondness for " powdering " their robes with their armorial devices, or mottoes, or the initial letters of their names. The mantle of Richard II, in a picture of him at Wilton House, is embroidered all over with his badge, the white hart ; and we know from other sources that he had a cap of blue satin garnished with pearls, which was worth over £200.

In the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V some attempts were made to simplify dress, and dagged sleeves are not so common in manuscripts of this date ; in their place a sleeve which fastened tightly round the wrist, and then fell in the shape of a bag, is often seen. Long gowns were still much worn, and in a picture of Occleve

presenting his poems to Prince Henry (afterwards Henry V), the poet's robe is slit up the side from the feet nearly to the girdle, and the opening is edged with fur: this plan was often adopted by men at this period, and in the time of Henry VI, and the contrast between the colour of the gown and of the hose visible through the slit was sometimes very effective. In another picture representing the same subject, Prince Henry wears a robe of a soft rich blue lined with ermine which shows it up admirably, and the poet's garment is pink, not exactly like any shade we have, but something approaching old rose. People did not always choose such delicate tints, or blend them so harmoniously: mixtures of scarlet and blue, green and red, and yellow and blue are not at all unusual. Sometimes men had shoes, or hose, of different colours, and it looks rather odd to see one leg red and the other white. Scarlet seems always to have been a favourite colour: when Margaret Paston wanted to make her husband understand how very much she longed to see him, she said she would rather have him with her than have a gown, even though it were of scarlet.

Henry VI was of so weak a character that he exercised as little influence upon costume as upon politics, and although he was not himself addicted to luxury and extravagance in dress, they burst forth anew during his reign, and were especially noticeable in the head-dresses of women. The rage for the horned head-dress, so called from its resemblance to the horns of an animal, was at its height, and drew forth a protest from Lydgate, who wrote "*A Litelle Short Ditey Agayne*

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1.—King John.
Cott. MS. Julius E. iv; Fairholt, *Costume in England.*

2.—Carved Shoe.
Fairholt, *ibid.*

3.—Group of Ladies, *temp.* Henry VI.
Harl. MS. 2278; Fairholt, *ibid.*

4.—Lady wearing the Steeple Head-dress.
Fairholt, *ibid.*

[*To face p. 158.*

Hornes," in which he reminded them that horns were given to beasts for defence,

> "A thing contrarye to femynyté,
> To be maad sturdy of resystence."

He tried to disarm any resentment they might feel at his interference by assuring them that

> "Beauté wol shewe thogh hornys wer away,"

but for a long time they did not follow his advice and cast them away. Heart-shaped erections were very popular, and turbans were worn, in imitation, perhaps, of the Turks, whose conquest of Constantinople drew upon them the eyes of Europe: there were also other varieties, such as the forked head-dress and the crescent, whose names explain themselves. Somewhat later in the century the "steeple" came into fashion; it was rather like a dunce's cap, but longer and more tapering. It was tilted backwards at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and a veil was suspended from the point to the ground. It was not unbecoming, but it must have been extremely uncomfortable, as the veil tended to drag it downwards and greatly increased the weight: consequently ladies sometimes hung the veils over their arms, and they had frontlets made of wire netting covered with black velvet, which rested on their foreheads, and relieved the strain a little. It was no longer considered improper to show the hair, and it was allowed to hang down the back; sometimes it appears to be flowing out of the middle of a turban, or of a truncated steeple. A head-dress shaped like an inverted lampshade, and another which suggests the form of a butter-

fly, were in fashion about the same time as the steeple : they must all have been very heavy, especially when they were studded with jewels, and at last a reaction against them took place, and during the closing years of the fifteenth century women wore simple hoods, or bands, on their heads. Apart from their head-dresses, the costume of women does not call for much comment at this period, they remained faithful to their fancy for long trailing gowns cut low in the neck ; the size of the sleeves and the position of the waist varied, but otherwise their dress altered very little. In the days of Henry VI very high waists were admired, and in those of Henry VII the bodice was sometimes cut open from the neck to the waist to display the stomacher, and laced down the back.

Masculine costume presents more features of interest : men's headgear, though not as extraordinary as women's, was often very fantastic. The capuchin and the chaperon of earlier days, both of which had been evolved from the monkish hood, were almost entirely discarded by the upper classes, though they still occasionally used hoods, especially for riding, and they wore sugar-loaf caps, bycockets (hats with two peaks), turbans with long streamers, and many other forms of head-dress which seem equally strange to modern eyes. Men's hair, which had been cropped, was allowed to grow so long that it fell into their eyes. Gowns were sometimes so short that they were quite indecent, and Parliament was obliged to legislate about them. Long gowns were, however, still used ; five were delivered to Richard III, on the morning after his coronation ; one of them, which

was the gift of the Queen, was made of purple cloth of gold wrought with garters and roses, and lined with white damask. Eight to nine yards of cloth of gold were required for these gowns, and seven or eight yards of lining. Richard apparently dressed very magnificently: he could not afford to neglect any means of improving his position, and perhaps he thought his splendour would impress the populace. Men also took to padding their clothes with "bolsters," or "stuffe of wolle, coton, or cadas," and their shoulders were made as broad as possible in order that their waists might look small. In the time of Henry VII we may perceive some foreshadowings of Tudor dress: doublets were much used, and very elaborately embroidered stomachers. The sleeves were made in two pieces, which were laced together with "points," and through them the white shirt underneath could be seen.

The working men and women depicted in manuscripts are generally very simply dressed in reasonably short tunics with small sleeves, and in hoods if they are out-of-doors. An incident which occurred at Canterbury, in 1425, shows, however, that they, like the upper classes, sometimes indulged in very capacious sleeves: a man escaped from the city prison and took refuge in the cathedral, the mob followed him into the building, seized him, and beat him with sticks which they had concealed in their sleeves. The "haberdassher," carpenter, "webbe," "dyere," and tapicer who journeyed to Canterbury with Chaucer were clothed in the livery of a "greet fraternitee," and their knives, girdles and pouches were ornamented with silver. The pretty

young wife of the carpenter in the *Milleres Tale* had a white smock with an embroidered black silk collar, a silk girdle, and a broad silk fillet on her hair. Evidently the working classes dressed themselves gaily on special occasions, even if their everyday clothes were somewhat plain. The poorest of them were able to afford more expensive clothing in the fifteenth century than in the fourteenth, for whereas in 1363 they were forbidden by law to wear any cloth but blanket and russet at a shilling a yard, in 1463 they were permitted to have cloth costing twice as much. One of the chief objects of the sumptuary laws was to prevent people from dressing above their station, but the numerous petitions addressed by the Commons to the Crown on the subject of apparel, and their complaints that the statutes and ordinances were not put into due execution, give us the impression that they were not successful. Hoccleve's lament that it was no longer possible to know lords from other men by their array because knaves copied the guise of lords, confirms this opinion, and in the failure of these attempts to prescribe a certain mode of dress for each grade in society we may see indications of the breaking down of medieval class distinctions, which was so striking a feature of the social history of the fifteenth century.

Children are represented in manuscripts, and on tombs, in clothes which, with the exception of the headdress, were exactly like those of grown-up people, and this circumstance is, we think, typical of the way in which they were then regarded : there was no scientific study of child-nature in those days.

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1.—Ladies' Costume, end Fifteenth Century.
MS. Roy. 16 F. ii; Fairholt, *Costume in England.*

2.—Peasant Woman, Fourteenth Century.
Loutterell Psalter; Fairholt, *ibid.*

3.—Some Eccentricities in Men's Costume, *temp.* Henry VI.
Harl. MS. 2278; Fairholt, *ibid.*

[*To face p. 162.*

The love of display and magnificence which we have already discovered in other phases of social life, and the luxury and extravagance of the age, were very plainly exhibited in costume. The cost of even homely materials was large compared to the prices of other commodities: the Pastons paid 8½*d.* an ell for holland cloth, and 12*d.* for a pair of hose which they gave to one of their servants, and Sir John Howard gave 4½*d.* for a yard of Kendall cloth for a man whom he employed. But people of good position bought more expensive materials for their own use: some holland cloth belonging to Lady Howard was valued at 4*s.* a yard, and Sir John Paston thought nothing of spending 20*s.* on a silk doublet. In the *Household Accounts* of Sir John Howard we find payments for damask at 9*s.* a yard, satin 6*s.* 8*d.* a yard, velvet 20*s.* a yard, and cloth of gold £3 a yard. The materials for a long gown of cloth of gold lined with damask would have cost from £27 to £30, and the making of it about 6*s.* 8*d.* When we remember that 1½*d.* to 2*d.* a day was allowed to artisans for food, we can realize what these prices mean. Not only were gowns covered with embroidery, but jewels were sometimes sewn on to them, and portions of them were gilded: thus in the will of Richard Dixton, Esq., of Siscetre (Cirencester), we find mention of a "gowne of goldsmythes werk," and to such an extent was this practice carried that Parliament was obliged to forbid any one under the rank of a baron to gild his clothes, for fear that the supply of gold needed for the coinage should run short. Although clothing was so costly, people were not content with a few garments: an inventory of the goods of Sir

John Fastolf, an old soldier who had fought in the French war in the reign of Henry VI, and might have been expected to have been simpler in his tastes, enumerates two gowns of cloth of gold, a gown and half a gown of velvet, one of blue satin lined with black silk, and several of cloth, besides many jackets, and a few doublets. The money expended on smaller articles of dress, such as shoes, must have mounted up considerably: Edward IV had shoes, sloppes, slippers, boots, and "botews" (large boots covering the whole leg) of all sorts and colours; and eight dozen pairs of gloves in one year. The girdles which were such indispensable adjuncts of dress must often have cost a great deal because they were made of expensive materials, garnished with gold and silver, and sometimes set with jewels. One end, known as the tag, hung down: men's tags were about twelve inches in length, but women's were much longer, and sometimes almost reached the ground. A description of a girdle taken from the will of Thomas Bathe of Bristol, dated 1420, gives a good idea of those worn by fairly well-to-do people: it was made of black silk lined with red leather, and ornamented with forty-six silver studs, and it had a gold buckle, and a pendant with an image of St. Christopher in it. Amongst those belonging to Henry IV was one garnished with thirty-eight "baleys," thirty-three sapphires, seventy-one diamonds, and two hundred and sixty-four pearls. It is pleasing to notice that the work of English goldsmiths was appreciated abroad: in an inventory of the jewels of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans a girdle of rich gold work set with pearls and

sapphires " de la façon d'angleterre " is mentioned.

The custom of lining and trimming gowns with fur must have greatly added to their magnificence and to their cost. Sir John Howard had a bill of £10 from his furrier for furring a gown, which cost £9. 7*s*. Many kinds of fur were used : " ermyn," sable, bogy (budge), white lamb, and " fox skynnes " were purchased by Edward IV, in 1480 ; and we also hear of marten, minever, foyne (wood-marten or beech-marten), beaver, otter, squirrel, and a few others. Rabbit skins were by no means despised—in 1430–31 forty thousand of them were sent from London to Flanders, and a similar consignment was shipped the next year. Cat was amongst the few furs which " artificers, people of handy-craft," and yeomen of lords were allowed to wear, by the sumptuary law of 1363.

As we have already seen, various articles of costume, such as head-dresses and girdles, were decorated with precious stones, and a great deal of jewellery was also worn. Chains round the neck (sometimes called collars) or hanging down over the breast, and brooches of various shapes are conspicuous objects in illuminated manuscripts. Some of them must have been very valuable —one belonging to Henry V was worth £800 ; and the value of another " riche coler," which was pledged to Cardinal Beaufort by Henry VI, as security for a loan, was estimated at £2,800. Very handsome pendants in the shape of crosses, medallions, and " tablets " were suspended from these chains and from girdles. Tablets were often quite elaborate works of art, painted with translucent enamels, and set with numbers of

jewels. Henry VI had one representing the Passion of Christ, made of gold "in the maner of a boke," and garnished with forty diamonds, twenty baleys, and twenty sapphires. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a medallion of English workmanship, made of stag's horn mounted in silver; St. George and the Dragon are carved on one side, and a Veronica (a napkin bearing the impress of the face of Christ) on the other. A silver-gilt German pendant is exhibited in the same case; it is much larger than the medallion, and consists of two Gothic niches, one filled by a bishop, and the other by a female saint. Even these few examples indicate how usual it was to depict religious subjects, and no doubt they were prized as incentives to devotion as well as for their beauty. Reliquaries (little cases containing relics) were also sometimes hung on neck-chains. In inventories and in wills we often come across allusions to a special kind of pendant called an *Agnus Dei:* it was a small round box in which a roundel of wax moulded from the remains of the Paschal candle at Rome with an impression of the sacred Lamb, and blessed by the Pope, was placed. Rosaries were sometimes suspended from the neck, but more often from the wrist: the larger beads were sometimes of gold or silver beautifully chased and engraved, or of boxwood or ivory exquisitely carved.

Very large brooches and clasps were used to fasten robes, or were sewn on to them merely for the purpose of decoration: sometimes the designs were very quaint; Henry IV had one representing a child of gold sitting upon a leopard, and another formed of a griffin and

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

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1.—Ploughing.
MS., Piers Plowman, Trin. Coll., Cambs.; Lacroix, *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance.*

2.—Brass of Robert Skerne and Wife, Church of Kingston-on-Thames, showing details of Caul, Brooch, and Girdle.
Fairholt, *Costume in England.*

[*To face p. 166.*

an elephant. Ring brooches were also used, and they, judging by those in the British Museum, were sometimes quite small: one dating from the fifteenth century is very charming, it is made up of tiny gold rosettes with an emerald in the centre of each of them. Mottoes were often written upon brooches, and they were sometimes studded with jewels. It was quite common for men to fix brooches in the front of their hats; they were called "enseignes," and were, in all probability, evolved from the lead signs given to pilgrims when they visited shrines. Somewhat similar were the badges of livery worn by the dependents of great noblemen.

Very extraordinary ideas were current as to the properties of jewels: talismanic and medicinal powers were attributed to many of them—it was thought that the jaspar, agate, and toad-stone neutralized or detected poisons, that pearls dissolved in powder cured stomachic complaints, and that coral acted as a charm. Great importance was attached to engraving, because it was held that if a gem were engraved by a skilful person under the right planetary influence its virtue was greatly increased. If, for example, an engraving depicting Ophinclius, the constellation which had the power of resisting poison, were cut on an agate its efficacy would be doubled. Even substances which had in themselves no talismanic qualities could acquire them if they were inscribed with words or symbols possessing them, and consequently sacred names and mystic signs were frequently placed not only upon gems, but also upon all kinds of jewellery, and sometimes upon other things, such as drinking cups, as well. Talismanic power was,

however, more often associated with rings than with any other object: the belief in talismans working in this way goes back to remote antiquity, and it is strange to find so essentially pagan an idea exerting so much influence in a Christian era, but it gives an additional fascination to the study of rings. There is a small but very interesting collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum which contains specimens of many different kinds of rings. There are Papal rings so huge that they could only have fitted the thumb, and episcopal rings which were as emblematic of the bishop's office as the crozier. There is a charm ring of hoot or horn banded with silver, with a toad-stone in the centre: it appears very worthless to us, but we may be sure its owner congratulated himself on having it. The bezel of a gold incantation ring is engraved with a rose roughly scored with a cross; on the outside of the hoop the words "*Ihesus nasarenus rex judeorum,*" which were considered a protection against plague, are written, and on the inside "*Iaspar, melchior, and baltasar,*" the names of the Three Kings, which were supposed to save men from sudden death, and peril by travel, and were sometimes used as a preventative of cramp. Some minute and careful work may be seen in the figures of three saints, and of the Virgin and Child cut on two iconographic rings. One of the signet rings has a devotional character—the sacred monograph I.H.S. is inscribed upon it, as well as an initial and a coronet. Amongst this set is a silver ring with a merchant's mark, an escutcheon surmounted by a cross: signets of this sort were used by persons who were not

of sufficiently high rank to have armorial bearings. Motto rings are of a secular nature ; a thin hoop ending in a serpent's head, in which stones were originally set, bears the legend " Pensey deli Parkisvici " (*Pensey de lui par qui Je suis ici*), and was very likely a love token. Most of these types of rings are also well illustrated in the Wollaston Franks collection in the British Museum ; there is even a charm for invisibility, and the signets are more elaborate and better cut than those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and some are set with intaglios. A devotional ring found near Coventry inscribed with engravings representing the five wounds of Christ is remarkable for the amount of detail it contains. This collection also supplies a few examples of decade rings, which served the same purpose as rosaries ; they are made of hoops of metal from which eleven knobs project, ten of them are the same size, but the eleventh is much larger than the rest, and sometimes it is replaced by a cross. All the rings described above are of English workmanship and prove that English craftsmen possessed a considerable amount of skill. Iconographic rings were, Mr. Clifford Smith tells us, in his interesting and suggestive book on Jewellery, peculiar to England and Scotland, and so it is also clear that they were capable of forming original conceptions. Rings were made not only of gold and silver but of all kinds of metal, and some of them were quite inexpensive, therefore even the poor could afford them, and the use of them was very general. This is, perhaps, one reason why more of them than of other classes of Medieval jewellery have survived, but the scarcity of the

larger ornaments may also be due to the custom of melting them down, and making the material up again in a different shape when the fashion changed.

Such were the chief contents of a Medieval jewel case, but there were one or two other dainty trifles which it might contain. We read of gold bells, which were hung on girdles, or on baldericks (belts slung diagonally across the chest), and of ivory combs garnished with silver and overgilt. A *pome de musk* or pomander is mentioned in some inventories; it was a kind of vinegarette, but, as its name implies, made in the form of a fruit, it held highly scented substances, which had some of the qualities of disinfectants, and must have been of great practical utility in an unhealthy, evil-smelling Medieval town. Thus Medieval jewellery not only affords evidence concerning our ancestors' artistic taste and love of finery, but also enables us to form some idea of the nature of their religious feelings and of their superstitious fancies, and even gives us a hint of the conditions under which they lived.

From their costume we can also glean some information as to their intercourse with other nations. Some of the richer materials of which their clothes were made came from foreign lands—fine cloths of gold and silver, satin, velvet, tarterin, cloths of Damascus, and gold of Venice were brought by Italian merchants. Furs were imported from several countries; kid and beaver skins from Spain and Portugal, fox from Iceland and Ireland, and otter, squirrel, sheep and lamb skins also from Ireland. Modes of dress popular on the Continent were very often copied in England, and we have already

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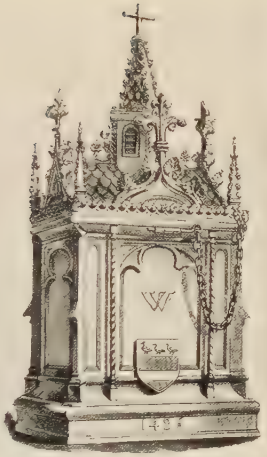

Photos. *Donald Macbeth.*

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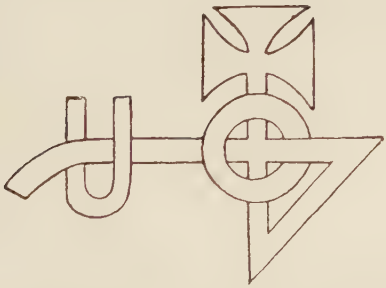

1.—Specimens of Flemish Work.
Lacroix, *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance.*

2.—Merchant's Mark, used by John Halle, of Salisbury, Woolstapler; Mayor of the City, 1456 and 1466.

[*To face p.* 170.

noticed a few instances, but by far the most potent influence exercised upon England was that of Burgundy. Under the rule of its great dukes (Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, 1419–1477) it was famous for its pomp and magnificence, and set the fashion for the whole of Northern Europe. The English were very closely connected with it by political alliances and commercial dealings, and no doubt a desire not to be outshone by foreigners increased their extravagance. Some magnificent Flemish tapestry, representing hunting scenes, which was executed in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, has been lent to the Victoria and Albert Museum by the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire; on it may be seen high-waisted gowns, cauls, turbans, bag-sleeves, and many of the other fashions we have described. On another piece of Flemish tapestry an incident from the Trojan war is depicted—Priam receiving Panthasileâ, the Queen of the Amazons, who has come to offer him her assistance; she wears a rudimentary steeple head-dress richly ornamented with jewels. This work belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century. There is also a little piece of German tapestry illustrating a German romance, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century; the men have the long pointed toes, and tight hose with which we are familiar, but their sleeves are quite small, very different from anything worn in England at this time. It is probable that there was a good deal of similarity between the styles of dress in vogue in the countries of Northern Europe; fashions, however, were not adopted by them all simultaneously, but one country often lagged behind

another. It is therefore necessary to observe the greatest caution in using illustrations executed abroad as evidence regarding English fashions.

We cannot study the illuminated pages of Medieval manuscripts, or the effigies on Medieval tombs, without being struck by the difference between the taste of the men of those days and of our own. Their sense of humour could not have been at all the same as ours, for we should feel extremely ridiculous in the garments they most admired, and they would probably have felt equally foolish in ours. Their eye for colour was, we suspect, keener than ours, though possibly they were a little too fond of bright shades. There was also, we must admit, more possibility of beauty of line in their flowing robes and well-fitting hose than in modern clothing. Our attire may be more practical and sensible, but it is certainly more dingy. Descriptions of civic processions and festivities rouse, we confess, a slight feeling of envy in us: "the Kynge is comyn to London," wrote Sir John Paston in 1469, "and ther came with hym, and roode ageyn hym, the Duke of Glowcestr, the Duke of Suffolke, the Erle of Aroundell . . . and many other Knyghtys and Squyers, the Meyr of London, xxij Aldremen, in skarlett, and of the Crafftys men of the town to the nombre of CC., all in blewe." A crowd must have been very picturesque in those days. On the whole when we try to balance our gains and losses, we are not at all sure that the losses are not greater than the gains.

CHAPTER XIII

HOUSES

Our study of Costume during the later Middle Ages has revealed to us a growing love of magnificence and display in the men of those days, and the same sentiment also influenced the development of their domestic architecture, though not to so great an extent. Improvements were not within the reach of all, but on the whole there seems to have been a gradual increase both in the size and in the grandeur of their houses. As time went on, more and more attention was paid to the demands of comfort, and less and less to the needs of defence : efforts were made to render buildings beautiful as well as strong, so that by degrees the castle disappeared and the domestic house took its place. In the reigns of Edward III and Richard II many licences empowering owners to fortify their houses were granted, but in the succeeding century very few were issued.

Manor houses as a rule consisted of low rambling buildings arranged round a courtyard, or two courtyards, with an entrance through a gate-house. Two sides of it were occupied by living rooms, and the other two by offices of various kinds—a bake-house, brew-house, slaughter-house, and occasionally also a spinning-house ; and there were stables, and farm-buildings of

all sorts, such as barns, granaries, ox-stalls, pigsties, a dairy, sheep-cotes, and dove-cotes. The chapel was always of great importance: sometimes it had an upper storey which was used by the ladies of the household, or the lord and lady and their guests, while the lower part was left to the servants. The hall was the most conspicuous room in the house: it was oblong in shape, and often of a considerable size. One built by John of Gaunt, at Kenilworth Castle, about 1392, a lofty room with a fine open timber roof, was 90 ft. long and 45 ft. wide. Some houses contained more than one hall; Sir John Fastolf had a Great Hall and a Winter Hall in his castle at Caister. The hall was usually entered by a porch, which opened into a passage cut off from the body of the hall by a curtain or a screen, and called, on account of this circumstance, the "screens." Above it there was often a minstrels' gallery, which sometimes gave access to a chamber called an oriel, and sometimes there was a gallery all round the upper part of the wall. At the further end of the hall was a raised daïs.

From the "screens" doors or passages led into the kitchen, buttery, pantry, and larder. Knowing the lengthy and elaborate meals rich men enjoyed, and the number of retainers and guests who fed at their table, we are not surprised to find that the kitchen was a very large room, with a huge fireplace, or sometimes three or four huge fireplaces, in it. Bread, butter and cheese were kept in the pantry; cups, platters, bowls, salt-cellars, table-cloths and other napery, and wine for immediate use, in the buttery; but there was

also a cellar for wine and beer. In the larder (or salsarium) salted meat for the winter and other eatables were stored.

On the other side of the hall, beyond the daïs, was the lord's chamber, where he retired after the feast in the hall. In great houses the lady had her chamber or bower as well as the lord. During the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth, an increasing desire for privacy led to a more frequent use of these rooms, and it was not at all unusual for the master and mistress to dine apart from the servants. In the *Stafford Household Book* we read that "messes" (portions of food) were served in "the chamber of the Lord and Lady," "the Great Chamber," and the hall. It is not easy to tell whether these chambers were bedrooms, or sitting-rooms in our sense of the word; there were beds in those at Caister Castle, and we know from romances that it was quite a common practice for both men and women to entertain visitors, even of the opposite sex, in their bed-chambers. In the *Household Book* of Sir John Howard, and elsewhere, however, we come across allusions to the parlour, which from its name appears to have been a reception-room, and it is probable that as civilization advanced, reception-rooms were used more frequently, and bedrooms less frequently, for the purposes of hospitality. Nevertheless, we have come across two cases of men of good social standing (a canon of Wells, 1492, and a Sergeant at Law, 1500) who had beds in their parlours. The majority of the bedrooms were on an upper floor, to some of them a fairly large room called a draught-chamber

was attached, and to others a "wardrobe," a smaller room in which clothes were kept. The number of the bedrooms varied according to the size of the house; Sir John Fastolf had twenty-five and two draught-chambers, in one of which two men slept, and there were also beds in the Great Stable, and in the "Sumer Stabull." But Sir John was a very rich man, and his house may have been especially commodious: moreover, twenty-five bedrooms are not so very many when we take into consideration the size of the households maintained by persons of high position. In one of Hoccleve's poems, *Jereslaus's Wife*, an earl and countess, their daughter and her governess, all slept in the same room.

Not only country houses but town houses also increased in size during our period, but they grew in height rather than extent. In the fourteenth century they were usually not more than two stories high, but in the fifteenth they were often three or four, and tradesmen frequently had cellars wholly or partially underground in addition to their other rooms. The materials employed for building depended largely upon the resources of the locality, for, unless the circumstances were very exceptional, people did not care to spend money in fetching them from a distance. Thus in the Cotswold district houses were made of stone, because plenty of it could be obtained on the spot. In Norfolk and Suffolk bricks were used, but not exclusively: John Baret of Bury in his will ordered that the "Rysbygate" should be "amendid and maad" at his cost with "fre stoon and bryk," unless his executors thought that

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1.—Hall of Penshurst Place, Kent.
Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England.*

2.—Stone House in Smalt Street, Bristol, Fifteenth Century.
Ibid.

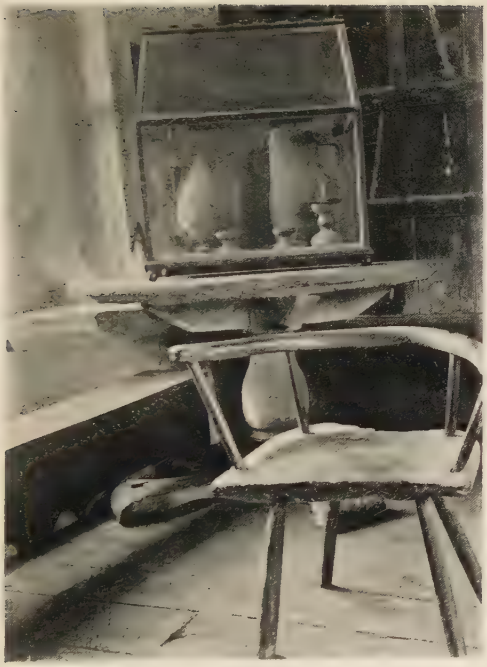
[*To face p. 176.*

brick was not sufficient to endure. In that case it was to be "maad with calyon and moorter"; that is, the editor of the wills explains, like the ordinary flint and boulder walls of the Suffolk churches. Bricks were not as expensive as we might expect; the Duke of Norfolk agreed to take 80,000 from a brickmaker, and to pay him 18*d.* a thousand, but the Duke found him "wodde, sande, and strawe." In London the upper parts of most of the houses were made of wood, and the cellars of stone. In Gloucester, Coventry, and Nottingham we read of timber houses, and no doubt there were many in other towns. The exterior of the house was often painted, perhaps in order to protect it from the effects of bad weather. In 1492, a London goldsmith named Wood built a block of houses and shops, and decorated them with the Goldsmiths' Arms and wood-men riding on monstrous beasts, all cast in lead, and richly painted and gilt; Stow thought it the most beautiful frame and front of fair houses and shops in England. The better class of stone houses were ornamented with mouldings and carving of an architectural nature, in keeping with the style in which they were built, and the doorways and corner-posts of timber houses were also often beautifully carved, and this kind of decoration would have been much more to our taste than Wood's. Houses were sometimes thatched with straw, but in many towns tiles were preferred because there was less danger from fire with them. For the same reason wooden chimneys were forbidden in Coventry and Worcester. Modern firemen would think medieval methods of dealing with fires very

inadequate—in 1493 the Coventry Leet ordered that every man who had been mayor should make two "bukkettes of leder," every ex-sheriff one, and every three commoners one between them, so that the city might be provided with them in case of need. At Fordwich every man was ordered to have a bucket of water standing at his doorway, in time of drought, because of the danger of fire, on penalty of a fine of twenty-one pence.

Another improvement which added greatly to the appearance and convenience of houses was the more frequent use of glass; not only were bay windows noticeable features in the great halls of manor houses, but people of comparatively moderate means also had glass in their windows. At Cambridge, in 1458–9 the wages of a glazier employed by the University amounted to 2*s.* for three and a half days, and the glass cost 7*d.* a foot, and ten years later it went down to 6*d.* Sir John Howard, about the same date, paid a "glacyer of Yipswyche" 5*d.* a foot, so evidently the price varied. Those who could not afford to pay as much as this put thin horn, talc, or canvas across their windows. In some towns windows, doors, lattices, and locks were regarded as tenant's fixtures: a tailor, William Smyth of London, laid a complaint against his landlord before the Chancellor because he had not been allowed to remove them when he left, and yet had been sued for arrears of rent.

Houses even in the centre of a town very often had gardens: it is difficult to realize it now, but in the reign of Richard II nearly all the houses and shops in Holborn and Fleet Street had them. The Bishop of



Fifteenth Century Chair, Jugs, Candlesticks and Saltcellars in the Dining Hall in the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester

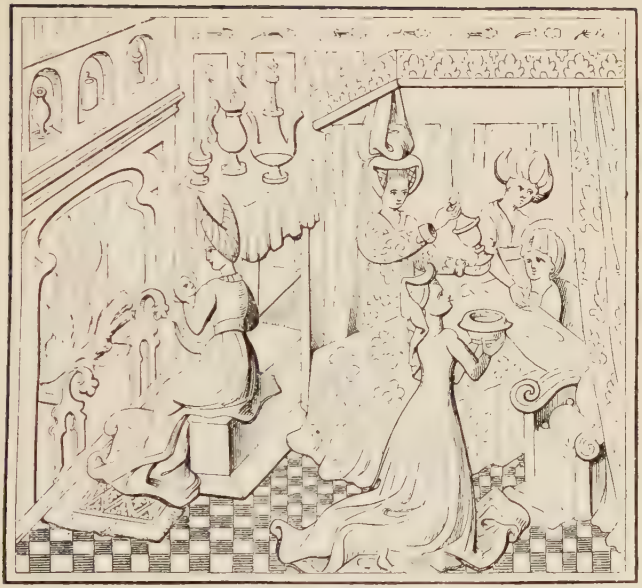
[*To face p. 178.*

Ely's garden, which we have already mentioned, with a vineyard and some land adjoining it, was let for sixty shillings a year, in the reign of Richard II, but we do not know how large it was. About another garden we have more exact information—from an inquisition made in the fortieth year of Edward III we learn that the Earl of Suffolk paid 12*d.* a year, for a garden named Goswell, containing three rods of land, in the parish of St. Botulph.

The furniture even in the houses of the nobility would have seemed to us rather scanty and rough. In the hall there was little besides the tables, seats, and a cupboard. The tables generally consisted of wooden boards laid on trestles; they were arranged very much as they are in a college hall at the present day—one, for the master and mistress and the principal guests, was placed athwart the hall, and the others, for persons of lower rank, were set lengthwise. We do, however, occasionally hear of tables fixed to the ground, like the "table dormant" in the franklin's house, which "stood redy covered al the longe day." Behind the high table was a settle, but the rest of the seats, with the exception of window-seats made in the thickness of the wall, were merely benches. The cupboard was a kind of buffet of two or three tiers, on which a goodly array of plate was displayed. In the "screens" was a "lavatory," a washing place with a cistern of water and a drain, which in some cases looked rather like a piscina: here the humbler members of the household washed their hands before and after meals, but water was brought to the high table.

The bed was by far the most striking piece of furniture in the bed-chamber: the bedstead was made of wood, and had a back, canopy, curtains and valence round it, generally all made to match. The coverlet was sometimes of the same material as the hangings, and the bedding included a straw mattress, a feather-bed, a bolster, pillows, sheets and blankets. Beds were very valuable, and were frequently left as legacies: one bequeathed by Henry V to Thomas, Duke of Exeter, was worth £139 11*s.* 8*d.* Queen Philippa had one with hangings of green velvet embroidered in gold with sea sirens, bearing a shield with the arms of England and Hainault, which cost £203. Sometimes a smaller bed, which could be pushed under the big one, or compressed into a small space, was used if the master required an attendant to sleep in his room. Besides the bed, there were one or two chairs in the room; occasionally they had high backs like our easy chairs, but more often the backs were very low, and could not have been much support to the person leaning against them. A bedroom also usually contained a settle, or a form, a small table, and a chest or coffer, in which clothes or valuables could be kept, and sometimes a perch or pole (very like a bird's perch) over which clothes were hung. Washing utensils (basins and ewers) were to be found in the draught-chamber. We hear of a few miscellaneous articles—standards, presses, shelves, clocks and mirrors, but we do not know exactly where they were kept.

The walls of rooms were occasionally painted, but usually they were hung with tapestry; the chairs and



A Bed-Chamber.
Harl. MS. 2278; Wright, *Domestic Manners*.

[*To face p. 180.*

benches were covered with the same material, and with silk brocade called Baudekyn, satin, and velvet. Flanders was noted for the manufacture of tapestry in the fifteenth century; the best came from Arras, and was called Arras for this reason. Another kind was named after Reynes in France (either Rheims or Rennes, but probably the latter) because it was made there. Tapestry woven with silk came from the East by way of Italy. Tapestry was also made in England: Henry V had several sets of hangings of worsted, the products of a little town in Norfolk: the industry was also carried on in other parts of the county, and bequests of "beds of Norfolk," of Lynn, or of Norwich stuffs frequently occur in wills. M. Jubinal tells us that among the items in an inventory of the goods of Charles V of France, dated 1371, were "salles d'Angleterre," which he explains as "des tapis formés de pièces de drap" probably from this country. It is gratifying to our pride to know that English tapestry was thought worthy to adorn the walls of a royal palace in France. The subjects depicted upon tapestries were very varied, and it is worth our while to glance at them, because they show us what interested people in those days. Some were religious—on a piece of tapestry belonging to Henry V the history of Abraham and Isaac was represented, and on another the Salutation of Our Lady. Historical personages such as Alexander the Great, into whose biography, however, many fables were introduced, and heroes of romance, like Sir Percival, figure upon some tapestries. Episodes from the siege of Troy were very popular; Edward IV had two "of

the story of Paris and Elyn." Many hangings were devoted to the delineation of sports, and especially of hunting and hawking, and sometimes we have descriptions of fancy scenes, which do not appear to have any particular meaning, but were no doubt pretty in their own way; such, for instance, was a piece of green Arras with four ladies in the middle, which was another of Henry V's possessions. Sometimes much simpler designs were employed, and the stuff was embroidered with initials, armorial bearings, flowers, the heads of animals, or conventional patterns.

Seeing that the use of tapestry was so general, it is surprising that people did not have soft coverings for their floors, but carpets are seldom mentioned in wills and inventories until the close of the fifteenth century. Henry VII had one in his bed-chamber, but some of his rooms were strewn with rushes, or straw. In many illuminated manuscripts the floor seems to be formed of tiles or tesselated pavement, but a hearth-rug may be seen in front of the fire in a picture of a bedroom in Lydgate's *Metrical Life of St. Edmund.*

Rooms were heated by fires of wood, charcoal, ling, peat, or coal: the first two were the commonest kinds of fuel, because England was then so well wooded that they could be obtained in almost all localities, whereas the others were only to be found in a few. Coal was, however, conveyed by water, so towns on the sea-coast or on the banks of navigable rivers, could have it even if they were some distance away from the coal-fields. Consequently we find that it was used not only in Jarrow, Durham, and Beverley, as we should expect,

Fireplace in the Hall of John Halle of Salisbury.

[To face p. 182.

but also in some places in the Midlands and in the South of England. In 1369, a quarter of coal was sold in London for 9*d*., and great care was taken to ensure that full weight (eight bushels) was given. A fire was sometimes made on a hearth in the centre of the hall, and the smoke escaped through a louvre in the roof, as at Penshurst, but fireplaces were more often built in the corner, or at the side of a room. In many cases they had stone hoods over them, and chimney-pieces decorated with mouldings or other ornaments, and the fuel rested on andirons. Pokers, bellows and tongs were even then well known.

The ordinary method of lighting rooms was by candles, but torches and lamps were also used. A very large number of candles must have been required to illuminate a big hall, and we suspect that we should have sometimes thought their rooms dimly lighted. George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, needed three dozen a night from All-Hallowtide to Easter, and each candle weighed over a pound. He spent £64 a year on them, so it is evident that lighting was a serious item in domestic expenditure. Candles were set in standing or hanging candlesticks of iron, wood, or laten. The streets were apparently not lighted at all except from Christmas Eve to the Feast of the Epiphany (January 6th), when, in many towns, people were ordered to keep lights before their doors. In Bristol people were not allowed to go about the street after curfew unless they carried a light: "night-walking" was considered a very serious offence.

So far we have dealt mainly with the houses and

furniture of the nobility because we wished to give as complete an account of our subject as possible, and they provide the best illustrations, but we are quite as interested in other classes in the community. *The Calendar of Wills Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London*, enables us to see how prosperous tradesmen in the metropolis were housed. Those who were best off had, besides their shops, a hall, parlour, buttery, pantry, kitchen, and chambers, and their houses seem to have been comfortably furnished; many of them had nice beds, handsome tapestry, and plenty of plate. An agreement made in the reign of Henry IV, by a "tymbermongere" and a carpenter, to erect three shops in Friday Street, London, give us some additional information: the shops were to be on the ground floor, on the top of a cellar, and two stories were to be built over them. The height from the ground to the joists of the first floor was to be ten and a half feet, and from the studs of the first floor to the joists of the one above nine feet, and the second floor was only to be eight feet high. Each house was to have a gable. On the first floor there were to be "une sale" (hall), "une spence" (buttery), "et une cusyne"; on the second, "une principal chambre, une drawying chamber, et une forein"; and each house was to have "une seylingpece" and two "esteires." These were not at all bad little houses, though the rooms were rather low; but there were many persons who only had a couple of living rooms and a shop, and some who could only afford one room. Rents were high in London, as may be seen by some of the amounts paid by tenants of

Fifteenth Century House in Chesshill Street, Winchester.

[*To face p. 185.*

St. Mary-at-Hill—a poyntemaker paid £1 6*s.* 8*d.*, a goldsmith £2 13*s.* 4*d.*, a draper £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, a tailor £4 13*s.* 4*d.*, and an ironmonger £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; business must have been good or they would not have been able to spend so much in rent. The largest sum paid, however, was "ffor the greate lombardis place by yer £13 6*s.* 8*d.*," so perhaps his was the most profitable trade of all.

It is not at all likely that those who lived in the country or in provincial towns were better housed than Londoners, or even as well, because although rents were lower and so they could obtain more for their money, their earnings were also lower and therefore they had not as much to spend. Whereas a sergeant tailor in the King's Great Wardrobe (at Blackfriars, London) received £5 a year for a house, Richard Beck, a mason, who was entrusted with the supervision of all the building undertaken by the Priory and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, and who was a skilled surveyor, received only £1 for rent, or the equivalent in the shape of a house. The rents paid by the inhabitants of Warrington in Lancashire, in the year 1465, have been recorded, and the house of a lawyer, William Garnet, which was probably one of the best in the town, consisted of one fair hall, two high chambers, and a kitchen: he also had a stable, cowhouse, barn, appleyard, a croft "containing near an acre of fresh land," "and a fountain of springing water," and he rendered for these premises 3*s.* 3*d.* yearly. One or two other cases may be quoted to give an idea of the rents paid in this district—a man in Orford, a hamlet near Warrington,

held one messuage with a chamber, barn, garden, fold, and eight acres of land, and gave 13*s.* 4*d.* and services worth 9*d.* a year for them. "A fair messuage newly built," in Warrington, "with two fair high chambers, a kitchen, a great garden, and a new oven at the north end of the said garden," was worth "yearly eleven shillings, with two days' service in autumn, valued at four pence." A point which has struck us very forcibly in reading descriptions of medieval houses, and at which we have already hinted, is the small number of bed-rooms possessed even by people who were not too poor to pay a fairly high rent. The miller of Trumpington in Chaucer's *Reves Tale* had only one bed-chamber; in this he and his wife, his grown-up daughter, his baby, and two under-graduates from Cambridge who visited him, all slept. He did a very good business in "whete and malt of al the land aboute," and especially with a great college—

"Men clepen the Soler-halle at Cantebregge"

and was well off for his station in life. He and his wife were excessively proud, and did everything they could to uphold their dignity, and would never have gone without anything which was considered necessary for persons of their class, so we may safely assume that the majority of people in a position similar to theirs, in the latter part of the fourteenth century would have been quite satisfied with what satisfied them.

We often find allusions to cottages in municipal records, but, unfortunately, few details about them are given, and we can only guess what they were like by comparing their rents with those we have already

noticed, and from what we know of the cost of building. In 1483, a man at Gloucester agreed to build a house forty-seven feet by fifteen, and eighteen feet high, of "standard werke," and "all the timber of oak," for £14. At Leicester, in 1432, a cottage with a garden, containing in width on the King's highway ten and three-quarter rods, and in length eleven and a half, was let on a repairing lease for forty years, at 2*s.* a year. Another, with a garden, near the town-hall was let at the same rent, with reparation, in 1453; but for others as much as 4*s.* and even 6*s.* a year were paid. In 1416–7, a lease of divers cottages in Bishop Street, Coventry, was granted to a carpenter, for twenty-four years, at a yearly rent of 6*s.* on condition that within two years he would re-build them with fit timber and tiles. This stipulation is very interesting because it shows us what materials were employed for the construction of cottages, and there seems no reason to doubt that these cottages, and probably those at Leicester too, though they must have been small, were quite weather-proof and habitable. On the other hand, the inquisitions post-mortem reveal some very startling facts—in Ludlow, in the reign of Richard II, eleven messuages, seventeen cottages, five shops, two tofts, and a mill only brought in 6*s.* yearly: in Yorkshire, about the same date, eight messuages, seven cottages, fourteen tofts, twenty-six bovates, and nineteen and a half acres of [arable] land, three acres and half a rod of meadow, twenty-nine acres of pasture, and seven and a half acres of moor were valued at 5*s.* 8*d.* We also learn from the Norwich Records for 1397 that some tenements were let for 3*d.*, 1½*d.*, 1*d.*, and ¼*d.* a year

respectively. Dwellings of such infinitesimal value must have been wretched in the extreme.

If we compare medieval and modern houses one or two differences between them are especially noticeable—the hall was far larger and more prominent then than it is now, and this is typical of the difference between their mode of life and ours. Quarrelsome, arrogant nobles gathered large numbers of dependents around them to fight their battles and to increase their dignity, and they required a large dining-hall for them; but private warfare is now impossible, and our pride takes other forms. It is, however, very curious that although we are much more democratic than they, the aristocracy of the present day would never dream of dining in the same room as their servants, like their ancestors. But, as we have seen, a change was beginning to take place in this respect during our period, just at the very time when medieval class distinctions were breaking down, and perhaps the reason may be that as long as the dividing lines between social classes are clearly defined there is no need for artificial barriers, but as soon as they grow hazy, the upper classes try unconsciously and instinctively to set a gulf between themselves and those whom they consider beneath them in the social scale. Opinions as to the number of bedrooms a house should contain and the use to which they should be put have altered, for though it is unhappily true that people are absolutely herded together, in the worst quarters of some of our crowded cities, it is only the very poor, and it is their misfortune and not their fault. This change certainly indicates an advance in civilization, and it also had

begun in the fifteenth century, which was a period of transition, when medieval ideas were losing force and modern were coming into being. Our furniture, we think, is an improvement upon theirs, for with the exception of their beds, they had little that would come up to our standard of comfort. With regard to the housing of the poor, we hardly like to hazard an opinion, because although we believe that some of their cottages were miserable hovels, we fear that some of ours are almost as unfit for human habitation, and without more definite knowledge it is perhaps unwise to try to judge between them; but at least we feel justified in saying that the public conscience is more sensitive about matters of this kind, and the desire to obtain for every one fit and adequate house-room is stronger than in the past.

CHAPTER XIV

PUBLIC HEALTH

In the Middle Ages men were threatened by dangers of which we, happily, have no experience. Bubo-plague, like the Black Death, and other pestilences frequently attacked them: there were five great epidemics, besides some smaller ones, in the second half of the fourteenth century, and many outbreaks of plague in the course of the fifteenth. It did not always, especially during the last forty years of the period, spread over the whole country at once, but showed itself in different localities at different times, and the towns suffered more than the rural districts. It very often "reigned" in London: in 1433, 1444, 1449, 1467–8, and 1474, Parliament was prorogued on account of it. In 1408 it was so bad that the Court of Husting was closed, and in 1434 and 1487 the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas were obliged to suspend their sittings. The Chroniclers record large numbers of deaths—thirty thousand persons died in London in 1407, according to the St. Alban's annalist. In private letters we also find dismal accounts of the plague and of the terror it inspired—"we lewyn in fer," writes Margaret Paston, in 1471, "but we wut not qweder to fle, for to be better than we

ben here." Eight years later, her son declares "pepyll dyeth sore in Norwyche" . . . and "at Sweynsthorpe . . . they have dyed, and ben syke nye in every house of the towne." It would, of course, be unwise to take these estimates literally, but it is obvious that the mortality was great. In 1485, a new and terrible disease, called from one of its most noticeable symptoms the Sweating Sickness, made its appearance, and Dr. Creighton believes that it was brought over to England from Normandy, by the soldiers who helped Henry VII to win his crown. It was very virulent, and carried off large numbers of the upper classes.

In addition to these scourges, people also fell victims to many illnesses, which are, unfortunately, only too well known to us, such as tubercle, gout, dropsy, quinsy, palsy, ulcers, tumours, whooping-cough, lunacy, rheumatism, cancer, and dysentery, several varieties of fevers, jaundice, cramp, asthma, sciatica, herpes, and many kinds of skin-diseases. Some of the names they gave diseases were very graphic—erysipelas was known as "wyilde fyir" or "fyir of helle," and epilepsy as the falling sickness. There were a few cases of leprosy, but it had almost died out by the fifteenth century. We hear occasionally of melancholia and megrim, but they do not appear to have had the numerous nervous complaints which are so common nowadays.

One or two circumstances lead us to suspect that they had a good deal of trouble with their eyes: when alien priors and monks were ordered to leave the realm, in 1403–4, an exception was made in favour of those who were blind, or too old to travel: and in an indenture

drawn up between Richard Beck, mason, and the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, it was expressly stated that provision would be made for him, in case of impotence or blindness, as if blindness were almost as usual as old age. Lanfrank, a surgeon who lived in the thirteenth century, speaks of cataract, ophthalmia, lacrimal fistula, tumours in the eye, and swellings and knots in the eyelids. In Commonplace Books, and even occasionally in Household Books, we find receipts for curing eyes, and many ailments are mentioned—"hawe," pearl (cataract), pin and web, or pin in the eye (glaucoma), and "pock." We also hear of sore eyes, running eyes, red eyes, watering eyes, "eyen þat byn goundy," and "bolnyng of eyen," which perhaps means some kind of swelling. In the same collection of prescriptions, an ointment for him that "may not wel se," and a medicine to strengthen eyesight are also to be found. Spectacles had already come into use; John Baret of Bury had some with silver-gilt frames.

Pestilence and other diseases were fostered by the unhealthy conditions under which men passed their lives. The heaviness of their diet, and the quantity of salt fish and meat which they ate must have been bad for them all, and the little children must have suffered greatly from the scarcity of milk in the winter, when most of the cattle had been killed. Moreover, it is to be feared that meat was sometimes kept too long, and eaten when it was unfit for consumption. Their lack of personal cleanliness was another fruitful source of illness. Chaucer, in the *Romaunt of the Rose*," tells us that he dreamt that it was early morning,

" And up I roos, and gan me clothe;
Anoon I wissh myn hondes bothe;"

then he went out, and came to a river, and washed his face in it. Russell, in his *Boke of Nurture*, directs the chamberlain to give his master " watur warme his hands to wasche, and face also clenly," when he dresses him, so it is evident that this was all that was considered necessary as a general rule. The lord, however, did sometimes take a bath, but he was washed with a basinful of hot herbs, and not with soap. The barber, we learn from the *Liber Niger*, was to be in readiness every Saturday night in case it pleased the King " to cleanse his head, legges, or feet," so even he only performed his ablutions once a week, and not always as often as that. Some of their clothes lasted for years, and on the death of their owners were bequeathed to friends and relatives, and if they were washed as seldom as their wearers they must have been ingrained with dirt by the time they were discarded. Worst of all was their defective sanitation; in 1415, complaints were made concerning the " horrible, corrupt and infected atmosphere " arising from a latrine on the " Moor " outside the City of London (the marsh between Moorgate and Finsbury), and from another near " Bysshopesgate." Houses were well supplied with accommodation of this kind, but if their drains were not kept sweet and wholesome, they must have been a source of great danger to health. The slaughter of beasts within the town was brought forward as a cause of the foul air in London, as late as the reign of Henry VII. A few statutes, and numerous local ordinances, were passed with the object of preventing

practices injurious to the public health, but town records contain accounts of repeated transgressions against them. It was not only that citizens frequently neglected the care of the sewers and streets under their charge, but that many of them piled up refuse in the roads, and threw filth of all kinds into the rivers and ditches. All the dyers, said a jury in Nottingham, block up the King's highway with their encroachments, "and stifle the common people with the stench from the residue of their waters dropping and falling on the King's highway." Adam de Hindringham, of Norwich, barber, was "wont constantly to lay his muck in the King's highway through the whole year." The river at Coventry was on one occasion so filled with "filthe, dong, and stonys" that "the watur stoppyd of his cours," and it had to be cleansed for fear of a flood. Townspeople often kept pigs in their houses or in pigsties, and it was apparently considered quite sufficient to clean them once a week—at Norwich the pigs were allowed to go free on Saturdays, from noon till evening, for this purpose. Indeed, although it was strictly forbidden, pigs were continually wandering about the streets of Medieval towns: a man at Leicester, not content with setting the prohibition at naught, unjustly flogged the town crier, who seized his pigs by the Mayor's order. For this aggravated offence he was not punished at all, but only required to deposit a pledge of twenty shillings, in case he should do it again. Live pigs running about everywhere without any one to look after them must have been a dreadful nuisance, but dead ones were even more objectionable: Robert Smith of Beverley was fined

for having a dead pig lying in the common street till it was carrion, and for refusing to move it when he was told to do so by the civic authorities.

Considerable efforts were made to provide towns with fresh water; it was often brought in subterranean leaden pipes from springs outside them. London obtained water from Tyburn, Paddington, and Highgate, and there were conduits in various parts of the city. The Great Conduit, in West Cheap, was begun in 1285, but the majority of them were built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Private enterprise was apparently needed to supplement the work of the Corporation, as from time to time we hear of persons laying down pipes or making cisterns at their own expense. It is possible that London, the richest and most important city in the kingdom, had exceptional advantages in respect to its water supply, so perhaps an example of what happened in a provincial town may be of interest. The town of Gloucester did not obtain an adequate supply until nearly four decades of the fifteenth century had passed away—in 1438 the Friars Minor of Gloucester, who drew their water from a spring at "Brerescl yft," granted the bailiffs and community of Gloucester three-quarters of it, and agreed that it should be conveyed from the garden of their convent by a pipe to the high cross, and to any other places in the town which the community desired. The Mayor and burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull were still unsatisfied even later in the century, and in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI's reign received a licence to acquire springs and to bring water from them into their town. Regulations in London and elsewhere

limiting the amount of water which brewers might take gives the impression that the quantity available was by no means unlimited, and that it was necessary to husband it. In 1497, the Coventry leet ordered that gates and locks should be made for all the conduits, and that they should be kept locked at night. Some places were wholly or partially dependent upon wells for water; we read of the common wells of the towns of Leicester and Nottingham, and private persons often had their own. Thomas Thurland of Nottingham granted a licence to a certain Alice Lyversege to take water from a well dug out of the rock in his underground cellar. Unfortunately, people were almost as careless about the pollution of their water as about the cleanliness of their streets, and in Beverley it was necessary to make an ordinance that any one who washed hides or other tainted things near a well should pay a fine of forty pence. Even when they had conduits, pipes were not laid on to houses, but every one had the trouble or the expense of conveying the water from the conduit to his dwelling, and perhaps this affords some excuse for their lack of personal cleanliness. It was generally brought by "water-leaders" in leather bottles, or in large tubs or pails, which were fitted with lids and handles, and could easily be carried on the shoulder, but sometimes they were put on horses or in carts.

How far the population of the country was affected by disregard for the laws of health it is impossible to say: the dearth of reliable statistics renders it very difficult to make exact statements, but such knowledge as we possess leads us to think that from the time of the

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

HORSE, CARRYING WATER IN SKINS.
Loutterell Psalter; Vetusta Monumenta.

CHAUCER'S DOCTOUR OF PHISYK.
Ellesmere MS.; Green, *Short History of the English People.*

[*To face p. 196.*

Black Death to the end of the fifteenth century, the population was very small. Dr. Creighton, who bases his figures on the poll-tax returns, estimates that there were 2,580,828 persons in England, exclusive of Cheshire and Durham, in 1377, and we have no reason to believe that the number increased during the fifteenth century. A statute passed in the ninth year of the reign of Henry V permitted sheriffs and escheators to serve four years instead of only one as in the time of Edward III, because there were not enough suitable persons to fill the posts, on account of wars and pestilences. The author of the *Italian Relation* commented on the sparse population of England.

The men who tried to cope with the diseases which were prevalent in the later Middle Ages were of various grades; at the head of the Medical profession stood the physicians and the master surgeons. The surgeons proper were, however, few in number, and surgical operations were also performed by persons who were known as barber-surgeons. To us the combination of two such very different occupations as surgery and shaving seems very curious, but it came about quite naturally. Up to the middle of the twelfth century, surgery and medicine were in the hands of the clergy, but in 1163 Alexander III forbade them to practise surgery, because it involved the shedding of blood, so they left it to the barbers whom they had hitherto employed as assistants. This transference of functions was very profitable for the barbers, and in our period we find gilds of them in many towns. The history of the gild in London is especially interesting: by degrees a differentiation took place among the

members, and those who acted as surgeons drew apart from those who were merely barbers in the strict sense of the word. At the same time they raised their status by obtaining from the civic authorities the right to appoint masters or wardens to supervise the craft, and to examine all who attempted cures. The ignorance and unskilfulness of some of those who undertook surgical operations fully justified this precaution, but it was distasteful to the Gild of Surgeons, which wished to reserve to itself the right of scrutiny, and to keep the Barber-Surgeons in a position of subordination. There was in consequence much bad feeling between the two bodies for a long time, but at last, in 1493, they came to an agreement, and decided that the wardens of the two crafts should act in a joint capacity as rulers in all surgical matters, and in 1540 they were formally united by Henry VIII. Besides these qualified doctors and surgeons, numerous quacks and impostors, both men and women, practised "fysyk . . . to the grete harm and slaughtre of many men." Alice Shevyngton, a maid-servant, earning sixteen shillings a year, left her master and took to curing people of sore eyes. Roger Clerk gave Roger atte Hacche an old parchment, cut or scratched across, rolled up in a piece of cloth of gold, saying it was good for fever, and would cure his wife if it were put round her neck. He said it was a charm, but nothing was written upon it.

The use of charms was very common, and if they were believed to be genuine, they were not despised by any one. Even the works of John Arderne, a celebrated surgeon of the fourteenth century, "a master of his art

both in theory and practice," included a charm against cramp. Some of them were very simple, just a few words written on a piece of wood or parchment, others were of the nature of an incantation. One particularly curious specimen has been preserved in a commonplace book of the fourteenth century—it claims to have been brought by the Angel Gabriel to St. William to charm Christian men from venom, gout, fester, or rankle, and begins with a Mass of the Holy Ghost, and an invocation of the three Persons of the Trinity. Then follows a sort of creed setting forth the godhead of Christ, His sufferings, resurrection, and ascension, and declaring the certainty of Domesday, and it ends by asserting that the gout (or other disease) is dead in the patient, and both he and the reciter of the charm say an ave and a pater noster. It was said three times on separate days, and the healer was directed to lay his hand upon the sick place, and to forbid the sufferer to take any medicine or to abstain from any kind of food for his illness. It is interesting to compare it with modern methods of faith healing.

In the same collection of medical works some other odd prescriptions are to be found ; a man who could not speak well was to drink hound's tongue : part of the treatment for madness was to kill a black cock and bind it round the lunatic's head. If a man had broken a bone, he was told to take violets crushed in water and drink it, and it would cast out the broken bone. John of Gaddesden, physician to Edward II and Edward III, who wrote *Rosa Anglica*, which was used as a text-book throughout Europe, recommended that a patient suffering from small-pox should be wrapped in scarlet, or

some other red cloth. Great use was made of blood-letting; it was considered good for gout, liver-complaint, sore eyes, and many other ills. Perhaps, however, the strangest feature of the medical science of those days was its connexion with astrology: surgeons studied the stars carefully, and only performed operations when the moon was in a favourable position. This superstition must often have caused inconvenient and dangerous delay; we wonder how many lives which might have been saved by promptitude were sacrificed to it! Another curious idea was the belief that images of men could, by means of magical and planetary influences, be so treated as to cause good or evil to the person they represented. A good doctor could, it was supposed—

> "... fortunen the ascendent
> Of his images for his pacient."

Operations must always have been attended by much danger to the patient, as the want of suitable instruments made it very difficult to stop hæmorrhage. Medieval methods of cleansing wounds do not seem to have been very satisfactory. Lanfrank, in his *Science of Cirurgie*, recommends the use of an antiseptic powder made of the seed of "mirtilles," but he owns that it will not always entirely prevent putrefaction. For this reason many surgeons cauterized wounds; he himself for malignant ulcer advised cutting away all the corrupt flesh and bone with a hot iron. He, apparently, continued this treatment for a long time in some cases, for he remarked that the patient would not bear the cautery for more than three months at the most, which we

can quite believe. He also recommended its use for skin diseases, asthma, lacrimal fistula if medicines would not cure it, toothache caused by hollow teeth, and chronic headaches. He said that he had healed a woman of " passiouns in hir heed manie divers " by this means, when other remedies had failed, but we cannot help suspecting that he frightened them away, or that his unfortunate patient pretended they had gone. John Arderne did not approve of cauterizing wounds, but it was done by most of his contemporaries. The suffering which must have been endured by patients in the days when anæsthetics were unknown are too terrible to contemplate.

Doctors' fees varied considerably : payments of £40 a year to the Kings' physicians are recorded in the reigns of Henry VI and Henry VII, and often they were supplied with clothing as well. Edward III paid one of his physicians £100 and another only £20 ; one of his surgeons received the same sum, and two others £26 13*s.* 4*d.* each. A " tooth-drawer " attached to Henry IV's household was paid sixpence a day, and a grant of an annuity of £10 was made to the Queen's apothecary by Henry VII. The two master surgeons who accompanied Henry V to France received twelve pence a day each, and their subordinates sixpence. John Arderne said that for the cure of fistula, a great man should be charged £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, or £40 with robes and a hundred shillings a year for life ; persons of lower social standing were to be charged smaller sums, but never less than a hundred shillings. In the *Early Chancery Proceedings*, however, we find that Nicholas Sax of London, surgeon, under-

took to cure Edmund Broke, of Southampton, of a fistula for 32*s.* 8*d.* It was usual to make an agreement with the patient before beginning the treatment, and if possible he was induced to pay part of the money in advance. Doctors who did not make an arrangement of this kind frequently lost their fees altogether. William Parouns stated in the Court of Chancery that he attended William Robynson for a month, when he had pestilence, and spent 20*s.* on medicines for him, but William refused to pay him : no formal indenture was drawn up between them, but he was promised a reward. Failure to effect a cure was liable to be followed by dire consequences for the doctor—John of Bohemia, the blind king who was killed at Crecy, sewed his doctor up in a sack and threw him into the Oder, because he had not cured his cataract as he had promised. Patients of lower position adopted the less drastic, but still vexatious, method of bringing actions against their unsuccessful leeches. Richard Brown, yeoman, of Nottingham, claimed £40 from a surgeon because he had not cured his leg by a certain date, according to the agreement made between them. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that surgeons refused to treat cases which seemed unlikely to run a straightforward course, and persons who were afflicted with puzzling or complicated complaints found it difficult to persuade any one to accept them as patients, and this was not only very unfortunate for them, but also very bad for the progress of medical science. The enormous increase of knowledge which has been attained, and the great improvements which have been effected both in surgery and medicine in

modern times, render it almost impossible for us to realize the disadvantages under which medieval doctors laboured, but even the little we know is quite enough to make us intensely thankful that our own lot has been cast in these latter days.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION

One of the most important features in the Social Life of the later Middle Ages is the growing appreciation of the value of education, which in earlier days had been almost entirely confined to the clergy, and the increasing desire of the lower and middle classes to obtain it for themselves and their children, for nothing so surely breaks down barriers between classes as the spread of education. Ambitious men who wished to improve their position took great trouble to secure it—John Paston sent two of his sons to school in London and another to Eton, he himself went to Cambridge after he was married, and two other members of his family also went to college. Fathers often put directions in their wills regarding the education of their sons, and generous persons left bequests for the assistance of poor scholars, or for the maintenance of schoolmasters who were to give gratuitous instruction to those unable to pay for it. Sometimes testators arranged that books should be chained in churches so that they might be available for all who cared to consult them : thus John Gallion of Lowestoft, in 1472, requested his executors to purchase a *liber grammaticus* to be placed within the chancel of the parish church. In the flourishing com-

mercial city of Bristol rules were drawn up for the Gild of Kalendars, in 1464, arranging for the management of its free library, and for the delivery of a public lecture by the prior every week. Serfs showed the same wish as free men to educate their children; Professor Thorold Rogers gives some instances of fathers paying fines for permission to send their sons to school. But they were not actuated solely by a zeal for knowledge, the boys were often educated in order that they might become priests and so escape from bondage (see p. 52 above). For this reason the Commons prayed Richard II, in 1391, to forbid "neifs or villeins" to put their children to school, but the petition was not granted, and early in the reign of his successor a statute was passed which deserves to be called an educational emancipation act. It decreed that any man or woman might send his or her son or daughter to any school in the kingdom.

Signs of the increasing demand for education may be seen in the establishment of new schools in the latter part of the fourteenth century; twenty-four grammar schools alone are known to have been founded between 1363 and 1400, and there may easily have been others of which we have no record. Evidence that the profession of teaching was becoming more profitable is afforded by endeavours to break down monopolies enjoyed by ancient schools. Such, for example, were the attempts of certain strangers, feigning to be grammar masters, to set up schools in London, in defiance of the privileges of the masters of the schools of St. Paul's, of St. Martin le Grant, and of the Arches. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St.

Martin's, and the Chancellor of St. Paul's appealed to the king on the ground that to them belonged the "prescript, l'ordenance, disposicion, et examinacion" of masters of grammar in the city of London, and that they had not licensed the strange masters. We do not know how the case ended, but early in the fifteenth century the fear that Lollard teachers were propagating their doctrines in schools led Parliament to forbid any man or woman of any sect or doctrine contrary to the Catholic faith to hold schools. A commission addressed to the Prior of St. Mary's, Coventry, and to the Mayor and bailiffs of the city, ordering them to arrest and imprison all offenders against the act found there shows how rigorously it was enforced. In consequence of this and the hostility of the Church towards unlicensed teachers, the foundation of new schools was checked, and apparently many of those already in existence fell into disuse; for in 1439 William Byngham, parson of St. John Zachary, London, declared that in the eastern part of the country, on the way from "Hampton to Coventre," and so forth no further north than Ripon, he had found seventy schools empty which fifty years before had been occupied. He attributed the evil to the scarcity of grammar masters, and asked to be allowed to give a "commodious mansion" called God's House to Clare Hall "for the free herbigage of poure scolers of gramer." Not many years later four London parsons laid a petition before the King, complaining that there were few schools in London, although the need for them was great because a multitude of young people came "for to be enfourmed of grammar there."

They therefore begged to be permitted to set up schools in their own parishes, and as the Lollard scare had, it seems, blown over, they, and William Byngham also, were authorized to carry out their schemes, and before the close of the century many other schools were founded in different parts of the country.

Although there were some independent schools in the later Middle Ages, a very large number were connected with institutions of various kinds: monasteries had them within their walls, but as far as we can judge in our period they were only attended by a few pupils—young monks, those who actually were, or were very likely to become, novices, and a small number of choristers, and children of the almonry. At St. Swithun's there were only three boys in 1381–2, five in 1400–1, eight in 1469–70, and none at all in 1484–5. At Durham there were thirteen novices in 1324, and nine in 1360, and little studies were made for them in the cloisters. According to the *Rites of Durham* there was also a song school "for to teach vj children for to learne to singe for y^{e} mayntenance of God's divine service in y^{e} Abbey." There were in addition certain poor children "maynteyned and releyved with y^{e} almesse . . . of the whole house . . . cauled y^{e} childrine of y^{e} aumery," who went to school "to y^{e} fermory chambre withoute y^{e} Abbey gates," and who had their meat from the novices' table. Both song schools and grammar schools were attached to cathedrals and collegiate churches; they were primarily intended for the education of the choristers, but were not for them alone. Schools also developed out of chantries, as it was not unusual for the testators who

endowed them to order that the priests, in addition to praying for their souls, should "instruct all persons coming thither and so desiring . . . gratis and without reward," or that they should teach the poor for nothing and charge others a moderate fee. In the same way colleges of secular priests, which were very much like large chantries, sometimes included teachers. Some Gilds maintained schools, and amongst these were the Gild of the Palmers in Ludlow, and the Gild of St. Nicholas, Worcester, which had a hundred scholars when the commissioners made inquiries into its condition, in the reign of Edward VI. Municipal authorities often took a great interest in the schools in their towns, thus we find the City of Lincoln making an agreement with the Chapter of the Cathedral safeguarding the rights of the master of the grammar schools of the city; and the Coventry Leet granted permission to two masters to settle in the town, and when friction arose with the Prior on this account, it sent a deputation to conciliate him and smooth matters down so that they might not be injured.

Medieval schools were of different grades; the most elementary were the A.B.C. schools, and in these the instruction was very simple and only suitable for very little children. Song schools were on a higher level; their chief object was to train choristers in music and singing, in order that they might be able to assist the priests in the services of the Church, but probably reading and writing were taught in them as well. There were also reading and writing schools in which particular attention was devoted to these subjects. Writing was

not, however, considered as important as reading or singing, and comparatively little time was spent on it. Chaucer's Prioress, in her tale, gives a description of " a litel scole " where children learnt

> " Swich maner doctrine as men used there,
> This is to seyn, to singen and to rede,"

but not a word is said about writing. Even Grammar (Latin) seems to have been more highly valued than writing, for we read in one of the *Early Chancery Proceedings* that a master promised " to find " his apprentice to school for two years, and for the first year and a half he was to " lerne gramere," while only six months were left for writing. It was not without reason that Latin held so high a place in the curriculum, for although the use of English became much more general in the course of our period, a practical knowledge of Latin was still needed not only for advancement in the Church, or at the Universities, but also for success in many walks of life—books on all kinds of subjects were written in it, and it was a medium of communication between scholars of all nations. It was the language of diplomacy—negotiations and treaties with foreign powers were drawn up in it ; and it was also used for Papal bulls, writs from the Kings' courts, pardons, and other official instruments. It even had a place in business life ; bailiffs of manors, churchwardens, and town clerks kept their accounts in it, until many years of the fifteenth century had passed away.

It was the work of the grammar schools to teach Latin (in Medieval parlance Grammar), Dialectic, and Rhetoric ; they were superior to the elementary schools,

and generally they were separate from them; but occasionally in small places the song school and the grammar school were united. The books most used in the grammar schools were Donatus, Priscian, and the Doctrinale of Alexander of Villedieu, but sometimes the pupils were expected to know Donatus before they entered. As not many books were available before the invention of printing, great recourse was had to oral methods of teaching; the master dictated rules of grammar or part of a vocabulary to the boys, and they wrote them down either on a tablet, or on pieces of parchment, and then learnt them by heart. This developed their memories, but it was dull and monotonous, and they must have grown very tired of "eternal gerund-grinding and perpetual pious platitudes"; even dialectic was not far removed from pious platitudes. On the other hand the practice in arguing which accompanied it must have been rather exciting: at Warwick School the boys were set to pose and answer each other, the master determining, and at Eton a public disputation was held yearly. Rhetoric sometimes included composition, and so it will be seen that the Medieval curriculum, though limited and uninspiring, was not without some good points.

Children were admitted to grammar schools when they were seven or eight years old, but as we have already noticed they received some education before they went there: they could stay at Winchester and Eton till they were eighteen, or till nineteen at Eton, if they were going to King's College. Life even at these two schools, which were the best of their class, was not

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

SCHOLASTIC DISCIPLINE.

From a Stall in Sherborne Minster; Wright, *History of Caricature and Grotesque.*

"I wold ffayn be a clarke;
but yet hit is a strange werke;
the byrchyn twyggis be so sharpe,
hit maketh me have a faynt harte."

—The Birched School-Boy. *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, p. 403.

[*To face p. 211*

by any means luxurious: up to the age of fourteen the boys slept two in a bed, and from the time they were sixteen they only had two regular meals a day, dinner and supper. The allowance for the scholars' commons at Winchester was eightpence a week, and tenpence at Eton, but there was an extra allowance to amend the fare on great festivals. Discipline, in accordance with the ideas of the age, was very strict; it was not without significance that a graduate in grammar was presented with a ferule and a rod when he took his degree, and then proceeded to flog a boy publicly in the schools. Margaret Paston, writing to the master of one of her sons, urges him to belash the boy till he will amend, if he have not done well. The encouragement and organization of sports and games, which is so marked a feature of school life at the present day, was almost entirely lacking in the Middle Ages. At Eton on great festivals, or when there was a fire in the Hall, the scholars and Fellows were permitted to divert themselves for a reasonable time, after dinner, with songs and other proper amusements, and to discuss poems, chronicles, and the wonders of the world; but we cannot imagine boys taking much pleasure in this form of entertainment. At Winchester, stone and ball throwing, wrestling and dancing were forbidden in the Chapel, Hall, and Cloisters, so we may assume that they were permitted elsewhere, and no doubt the boys managed to amuse themselves well enough. Sometimes they seem to have been rather rough: two boys, we read in the *Chancery Proceedings*, were at school at "Aylsham," and in their "necligent iapyng and disport in the seid scole" one of them was

hurt, and after a long time died. At Christmas, however, they seem to have enjoyed themselves thoroughly, minstrels and players visited them, and there was much merriment. An extremely curious ceremony, the festival of the Boy Bishop, took place, on the Holy Innocents' Day and its eve—one of the boys was chosen to represent a bishop, and others acted as prebendaries; they went in procession to the cathedral (or to church if there were no cathedral) and carried on the services, the real clergy taking subordinate parts. At Bristol, the mayor and council attended St. Nicholas' Church to hear the Boy Bishop's sermon and to receive his blessing, and after dinner he and his choir came and sang to them and were regaled with bread and wine. At Salisbury he was allowed to have a banquet, and at York he held a visitation, and the profits were considerable. Sometimes on these occasions and at other times also the children performed Mysteries and Moralities; the singing boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithun's Priory appeared before Henry VII, in a Morality Play, at Winchester Castle, on a Sunday in 1487. The children who attended the elementary and grammar schools belonged to the lower and middle class: poverty was not a bar to education because so much free instruction was given, and gifts for the education of poor boys were considered very praiseworthy. Fees, when they were charged, were often not large; a schoolmaster at Nottingham only claimed fourpence a term for a boy. The early age at which children began to earn their living was, however, a hindrance to their education: apprentices were sometimes sent to school by their masters,

but children who were put to the plough before they were twelve could have had very little schooling.

Young nobles occasionally had tutors at home, or received private tuition in the houses of abbots; but generally they were educated in the households of great nobles, who employed masters to teach them all that was considered necessary. From the *Liber Niger* we know exactly what the children in Edward IV's household learnt. A master of Grammar taught them Latin; another master instructed them in other languages, and was responsible for their skill in knightly exercises. It was his duty to "lerne them to ryde" and to wear their armour, and "to drawe them also to justes." Great value was placed upon good manners, and he urged them to show courtesy in word and deed. He was with them in their chambers and in the Hall, and he watched over their behaviour at all times, and corrected them if it were not "mannerly" and suitable for gentlemen. He also kept them in "remembraunce dayly of Goddes servyce." Accomplishments were not forgotten, and they were taught to harp, pipe, sing, and dance. John Hardyng, the chronicler, traces the course of education followed by the sons of lords, his description agrees with what we already know, and he gives us a little more information about the ages of the children. He says they were "sette . . . to scole" at four at fourteen they were taken to the fields to hunt, so that they might grow hardy; and at sixteen they joined in combats and tournaments, and even in serious warfare. Chaucer's description of the squire sums up the effects of knightly training in a few words—

"Singinge he was, or floytinge,[1] al the day;
Wel coude he sitte on hors, and faire ryde.
He coude songes make, and wel endyte,
Iuste and eek daunce, and wel purtreye[2] and wryte."

The Medieval education of women is a difficult and obscure subject, upon which it is not wise to speak too positively; but from incidental allusions in historical documents and in literature we gather that women of high birth were like their brothers, sometimes educated in their parents' homes or in those of other nobles. Henry IV's two step-daughters had, we learn from the *Rolls of Parliament*, a governess (Maistresse). Chaucer, in the *Phisiciens Tale*, speaks of

"Maistresses . . .
That lordes doghtres han in governaunce,"

and Canacee, the daughter of King Cambinskan, in the *Squieres Tale*, had one.

Jereslaus's wife, in a poem by Hoccleve which bears that name, is asked by the Earl in whose land she finds herself, to be "gouerneresse" to his daughter—

"Hire to teche and to lerne norture."

The heroine of the *Song of the Lady Bessy*, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, reminds Lord Stanley that her father put her into his keeping "for to governe and to guyde" when she was a little child: she also tells him that the king sent for a scrivener from London, who taught her, and her sister, and Lady Wells "to write and read full soon," and she could write English, French and Spanish. Elizabeth was not the only royal

[1] Playing the flute. [2] Draw.

lady who could boast of these accomplishments—amongst the first women in England to learn to write were those of the family of John of Gaunt; his wife Blanche was regarded as a patroness of letters, and Froissart offered her the homage of his verse. His daughter Philippa, who married John I of Portugal, inaugurated a new era at the Portuguese court by the careful education of her children. Girls seem to have started their education quite as early as boys; one of Sir William Plumpton's correspondents, writing of his little grand-daughter who was only four years old, says she "speaketh prattely and french and hath near hand learned her sawter."

Girls and little boys were sometimes sent to nunneries to be educated: as to the number of the convent schools it is impossible to make any definite statement, but when we remember how anxious the ecclesiastical authorities were to exclude secular persons from the cloister, we shall understand that the practice of teaching in convents was beset with many difficulties and only grew up very slowly, and that in so far as it was successful it marks the failure of the Medieval ideals of convent discipline. Children were kept out of the nunneries for the same reason as adults—for fear that they should break down the discipline of the convent and distract the nuns from the contemplation of religion, but by degrees the rules against their admission were somewhat relaxed. In 1359 Bishop Gynwell allowed girls under ten and boys under six to remain at Elstow, when he ordered all secular women to depart. The decree issued to the Convent of Farwell in 1367 permitted a nun to keep one child with her for education, provided

that it was not a male child over seven years of age, but even this could not be done without the bishop's leave; and these restrictions show that the feeling on the subject was still strong. The numbers of the children educated in nunneries probably increased as time went on, but even at the Dissolution they do not seem to have been very large; at Pollesworth, Warwickshire, there were thirty to forty, and at St. Mary's, Winchester, twenty-six. At Pollesworth we are told that they were "gentylmens childern," and at St. Mary's that they were the children of knights and gentlemen. In the *Chancery Proceedings* it is recorded that "Laurens Knyght, gentleman," arranged that the Prioress of Cornworthy, Devon, should have his two daughters, aged respectively seven and ten, "to scole," and he agreed to pay her twenty pence weekly for their meat and drink. Edmund Tudor, the father of Henry VII, and his brother Jasper were entrusted to the care of the Abbess of Barking. On the other hand, no case of the education of a poor child at a convent is known, and there seems no reason to doubt that nunnery schools were for the children of the rich, even if we leave out of sight the practical consideration that most convents were too poor themselves to support those who could not pay for their education.

We can tell what the nuns were likely to teach their pupils from our knowledge of their own attainments. Novices on admission to the Premonstratensian Order were expected to be able to read and sing. Religious instruction would naturally occupy an important place in convent schools, and great stress would be laid upon

manners. We are all familiar with the "curteisye" and dainty ways of Chaucer's Prioress, rather mincing we think them, but he admired them very much. A section in the Rules of Syon on "obseruances and norture at table" shows how much care was bestowed upon training of this kind, not so much for the sake of inculcating good manners perhaps, but as a means of strengthening moral character, according to the views of the foundress. The Rules are painfully minute: the nuns are told how they are to sit at the table, how they are to fold their hands, when they are to eat and when they are to desist from eating, how they are to hold their cups, and many other details. Chaucer's Prioress spoke French, and in 1387 the nuns of Elstow were enjoined to talk in this language amongst themselves, so possibly it was amongst the subjects taught by the nuns, though as time went on it grew less popular. The nuns of Polsloe had been told in 1319 that if they must break silence, Latin was better than any other tongue, "even though it were not well ordered according to the rules of grammar." But in later days nuns do not seem to have had much acquaintance with Latin, though we might have expected them to master it in order to follow the services intelligently. The Hours and the Masses of our Lady were translated into English for the nuns of Syon, on account of their ignorance of the original language, and their Rules are in English also. They were not, like the brethren, enjoined to speak Latin when they were warming themselves in the "fyre howse." The register of Godstow nunnery was also translated from Latin into English for the

benefit of the nuns, because "women of relygyone, in redynge bokys of latyn, byn excusyd of grete vndurstondyng." Of the accounts of nunneries in the Public Record Office two sets are in Latin, one partly in French and partly in Latin, and one in English. The absence of Latin from the course of study laid down for girls constitutes the most vital difference between their education and that of boys; ignorance of it must have been a very great disadvantage to them, and in after life must have cut them off from many occupations and sources of knowledge which were open to men.

We have little definite information as to the education of girls elsewhere, but in the *Early Chancery Proceedings* we read that Elizabeth, daughter of William Garrard, draper, of London, was sent to school with Sir William Barbour, priest: he had thirty children in his school, and taught them the Paternoster, Ave, Crede, and "ferther lernyng." Although this is the only instance we can quote of girls attending elementary schools, we have no reason to think that it was unusual for them to do it. Mr. Leach has discovered an entry in the records of the Corpus Christi Gild, Boston, which speaks of "Matilda Mareflete, schoolmistress in Boston," and she probably taught in an elementary school. The act forbidding persons with heretical opinions holding schools mentions women as well as men, and it is obvious that they could not be teachers if they had not had some education themselves. On the whole, however, we are of the opinion that far less importance was attached to the education of women than of men, and a far lower standard of knowledge was required of them.

The Knight of La Tour-Landry, who was considered a great authority on the subject, wished his daughters to be able to read, and thought that "maydenes shulde be putte vnto scole to lerne vertuous thinges of the scripture, wherethorugh thei may the beter see and knowe thaire sauuement, and to duell and for to eschewe al that is euel in manere," but he does not seem to have desired any further intellectual training for them. Testators never left bequests in their wills for the education of girls, but, instead, gave them marriage portions. Probably most parents were quite satisfied if their daughters acquired a little elementary education, and enough practical knowledge of household management and domestic work to fit them to become wives.

The history of the Universities in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth, is very depressing, for although there was a good deal of building and several colleges were founded, there was little intellectual life or vigour in the scholars who ought to have been leaders of thought. The number of students dwindled, and by the middle of the fifteenth century there were not more than a thousand at Oxford, and Cambridge was less populous. The decay of the Universities at a time when there was a growing desire for knowledge strikes us at first as very extraordinary, but the reason appears to have been that they did not meet the needs of the age. It was an epoch of commercial and industrial expansion, and a passion for trade seized upon the nation: the men engaged in it were in too great a hurry to make money to spare time for a lengthy academic career, which though useful to lawyers and

administrators, was not likely to be profitable to them. They wanted knowledge which would help them in their business life, not the kind of learning which was to be found at the Universities; and this feeling was especially strong in the middle and lower classes, from whose ranks the bulk of the students seems to have been drawn. Consequently, while many parents gladly sent their children to school, only a comparatively few of the most enlightened, like the Pastons, cared to give them a University education. At the same time, according to a complaint made in Parliament, the number of clergy who went to Oxford and Cambridge greatly diminished; they had not sufficient love of scholarship to seek it merely for its own sake, and it was no longer a means of advancement in their profession. The Statute of Provisors transferred the patronage of many livings from Papal to English hands, and the new patrons kept the best for their own kin or sold them for "gold in large quantities" instead of bestowing them upon learned priests. The fear of the dissemination of Lollardy which, as we have seen, checked the movement for popular education, did even more harm to higher education. The doctrines of Wycliffe were received with favour at Oxford, but the Church was determined to stamp them out; a long and severe struggle was waged, in which Oxford fought not only for her religious beliefs but also for academic liberty, but in the end the Church won, and the University was brought under the ecclesiastical yoke. In crushing heresy, as it was considered, the Church also suppressed freedom of thought and speech, the spirit of Oxford was broken, and did not

revive during our period. Another important reason for the decline of the English Universities was their adherence to Medieval scholarship, which was by this time thoroughly worn out; the New Learning did not gain any real hold over them until the sixteenth century.

The career of a student who wished to obtain the highest University qualifications was a very long one. He spent seven years upon the Arts course: for this he had to study the trivium—grammar, logic, and rhetoric, the quadrivium—arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, and also natural, moral, and metaphysical philosophy. He was obliged to attend lectures, the maximum number being apparently three a day, and to read set books, and after a certain time, we do not know exactly how long, he was "admitted to the question"; he paid a fee of twelve pence, and his name was inscribed in a register as that of a person who had obtained a certain definite rank in the University. He next proceeded to "determine": inquiries were made as to his character and his past studies, and if these were satisfactory he was allowed to present himself for examination. There were no written papers, but the examination was entirely oral; it took place in the Arts school, in the week before Shrove Tuesday, and lasted four days, and the actual "determination" followed it—the determiners stood in the schools every legible day for four weeks, each attended by a sophister, and the pair of them were obliged to argue three questions of logic and philosophy, chosen by themselves, against all comers. The ordeal sounds very trying, far worse than an examination for honours to-day; but the only fear

of failure consisted in the candidate being unable to take the necessary oath as to his past studies, and he was never rejected for any other reason. Apparently it was possible to determine by proxy, so those who dared not face it could escape, and those who were fit for it enjoyed the opportunity of showing off their powers. When it was accomplished, the student had completed the first stage of his career, and was a Bachelor of Arts, and was expected to take part in the work of the University as a teacher. He delivered some lectures as part of his course, and attended others, and also acted as opponent and respondent in public disputations, and at the end of three more years came inception, which was the great event of his student life. After five Masters of Arts had deposed on oath of their knowledge and seven others to their belief in his fitness, he received a licence from the Chancellor, paid his fees, and proceeded to incept. The first act consisted of Vespers, and a solemn disputation of inceptors; the next day was the "Commencement," a public disputation; and the following day every incepting master delivered a lecture of inception, and completed his degree and became a regent Master of Arts. In this capacity he presided over a school for a year, and then, if he wished, entered a higher faculty. For Theology ten years' work was required, for Canon or Civil law eight, and for Medicine five years' reading and two years' practice. Such was the work required of students who attained to a doctorate, but not by any means all of them accomplished the whole of it: some obtained "graces" which exempted them from some stages of

it, and many did not take a degree of any kind. During the greater part of the fifteenth century, Canon Law was the favourite subject amongst the higher faculties, Theology and Civil Law were nearly as popular, but Medicine was a long way behind, and Music last. Into the details of the courses prescribed in these faculties it is not necessary to go; in all of them similar ceremonies were enacted, and similar methods pursued; perhaps the most noticeable feature of the Medieval system, and the one in which it differed most strongly from modern University teaching, was the importance attached to disputations. The results of this training were partly good and partly bad, those who went through it successfully acquired all the arts of practised debaters—great skill in logical defence and in the resolution of tangled questions, readiness of tongue, and acuteness in drawing distinctions and catching points. But on the other hand they learnt to set a higher value upon subtlety than soundness of thought, and cared more for "dialectic wrestling" than for true learning and sober arguments, and often spent much time over discussions from which no certain and useful knowledge could be gained, and consequently much of their work was barren.

Many students, perhaps because the career lasted so long, began it when they were between thirteen and sixteen; but this was not always the case, for as we have seen boys could stay at Winchester and Eton till they were eighteen or nineteen. William Paston did not go up to Cambridge till he was nineteen, and in a poem called *The Mirror of the Periods of Man's Life*, written about 1430, twenty is said to be the age for

going to the University. A student with small means (supposing that he was not connected with any religious house) sometimes hired a room, or he joined others and several of them took a hall or hostel between them, or if he were very poor he went to a college. A rich student often occupied the whole of a hall, and had quite a large establishment, including poor youths whom he befriended, a chaplain, and also a tutor if he were very young. In a hostel belonging to several students there was generally one called the Principal, who was responsible for the rent, and who exercised a certain amount of authority over the others. In early days his power depended upon the voluntary acquiescence of his companions, and he was raised very little above them ; but in the fifteenth century the University began to restrict the principalship to Masters, and to endeavour to enforce some discipline amongst the students, who were forbidden to live in rooms by themselves. In this attempt to compel the students to submit to the surveillance of their superiors, the University was helped by the growth of the collegiate system, which ended by effecting a revolution in University discipline. The beginning of the fourteenth century, says Canon Rashdall, found the non-collegiate student a gentleman at large, the close of the fifteenth left him a mere schoolboy. Colleges were founded with the object of assisting poor and deserving students, and were at first for them alone, though in later years others were admitted ; in return for maintenance the students were obliged to conform to the stringent regulations laid down for them, and to devote themselves seriously to their work.

In spite of the efforts of the authorities to keep them in order, the behaviour of the students often left much to be desired : town and gown rows and quarrels between hostels frequently occurred, and it was not at all unusual for citizens and students to be killed in them. At Oxford, about the middle of the fifteenth century, it was stated that the townspeople dared not object to clerks being admitted to compurgation for fear of being murdered, or at least maimed. The *Grace Books* of the University of Cambridge contain many entries of fines paid by persons who had broken the peace, and the offenders were not only young students, but sometimes people of position. In 1421 the misdeeds of a great number of Oxford scholars and clerks were brought to the notice of Parliament ; it was stated that, armed and arrayed in manner of war, they had driven many men of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire out of their lands and tenements, and had threatened to beat and kill them, and other inhabitants of these counties. They had also hunted, both by day and night, in parks and forests in these counties, and had threatened the keepers of them in the same way. They had, in addition, by main force rescued clerks convicted of felony, and set them at liberty. To live in the vicinity of a University town must have been very unpleasant in those days. Possibly one cause of the persistent lawlessness of the students was the lightness of the punishments inflicted upon them ; even for homicide a few months' imprisonment, or excommunication, or both, ending with penance and the payment of a sum of money to be used for the benefit of the soul of the

deceased, was thought sufficient. For breaches of the peace fines ranging from twelve pence to forty shillings were exacted. Another reason for their wildness was perhaps the lack of wholesome amusements, which might have provided a vent for their high spirits; the sports and games enjoyed by other young men were supposed to be too unclerkly, distracting, and expensive for them, and were forbidden in statutes of the University. Debarred from physical exercise, they tried to satisfy their natural craving for amusement by haunting taverns, and there they not only drank too much, which made them more unruly than ever, but sometimes came across disreputable women and fell into even worse excesses.

The standard of living varied very much amongst the students; those who were rich lived luxuriously, but the poor sometimes found it very difficult to make both ends meet; in times of dire distress they were allowed to borrow money from one of the University chests, endowed for their assistance, or to beg alms if they could obtain a licence from the Chancellor. Between these two extremes there were probably many who were fairly well off; and Mr. Anstey has made an interesting estimate of the expenses which would be incurred by such a student who lived in a hostel, and had one room to himself. In the course of a year he would spend—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For Lectures	0	8	0
For rent of his room	0	10	0
For food at 10*d.* a week, for 38 weeks .	1	11	8
For payment of servants for 38 weeks .	0	1	4
	£2	11	0

This bill seems very moderate, but it only covers the bare necessaries of life; there are no extras of any kind, not even candles or fuel. It is no wonder that the students spent their evenings at taverns if they had to do without lights and fires in their rooms. Food at 10*d.* a week could not have been very plentiful; the fellows of New College received 1*s.* a week for commons, and 18*d.* in times of scarcity. The estimate shows, however, that it was possible to live economically at a University, but incidental expenses ran away with a good deal of money. As we should expect in the Middle Ages, nothing of importance could be done without eating or drinking, and the achievement of each stage in the student's career was celebrated by a feast, of more or less magnitude according to the value set upon the event. An incepting Master of Arts was called upon to entertain all the regent masters, and this, even without the payment of his fees, and presentation of various gifts which could not be avoided, must have cost him a great deal. Mr. Anstey thinks that ten marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) would have paid for both determination and inception, in the case of a secular student, which is more than he would have spent in two and a half years under ordinary circumstances. We have endeavoured in this brief sketch to show the chief features of the lives of students at our Universities, and it must be confessed that many of them faced hardships from which we should shrink, and expended an amount of time, if not of money, that we should grudge, and in spite of their faults and follies, and the futility of much of their work, we cannot withhold our respect from the

men who conscientiously plodded through a Medieval student's career.

It only remains for us to sum up the impressions we had gained from our study of education in our period ; we are of the opinion that there was very little enthusiasm for higher education, but a great desire for all kinds of knowledge, such as reading, writing, and Latin, which would be of service in everyday life. It is extremely difficult to say how far education had spread amongst the people, but there is a little evidence which is worth quoting. It is quite clear, in the first place, that knowledge of reading and writing was not universal—a number of petitioners who applied to the Chancellor for help, declared that they had been deceived about indentures and agreements because they were " not lettyrd nor vnderstode not what was wretyn." We also find that churchwardens seldom wrote their accounts themselves, but paid a professional scribe to do it for them. On the other hand, bailiffs of manors managed to keep theirs in Latin, as Professor Thorold Rogers has pointed out, and he also draws attention to the fact that amongst the documents belonging to New College, Oxford, are some " rudely written " bills drawn up by artisans, and extending over several years of the fifteenth century. The letters of the Pastons, Celys, and Stonors also show that writing was not an unusual accomplishment at this time, for they are the work not only of the families whose names they bear, but of their servants and dependents as well. Their writing is sometimes very bad and their spelling very uncertain, but they seem to be able to express themselves easily and to make their

meaning clear. Inquiries made concerning Sir John Fastolf's will, in May and June, 1466, give us some idea of the proportion borne by educated to uneducated persons, but as it is only a single instance we do not wish to lay too much stress upon it: twenty witnesses were examined, and of these eleven were described as "illiterate," and to seven the term "literatus" was applied, and the remaining two were Stephen Scrope, whose letters are amongst the Paston collection, and a schoolmaster. Perhaps, however, the strongest proof of the diffusion of education is to be found in the value placed upon books; it is not only that large prices were given for them, that they were pledged as securities for loans, and left as legacies, and that libraries were built for their reception, but the old plan of copying them by hand was found so totally inadequate to meet the new demand for them, that in an age of rigid protection they were imported from abroad duty free, and printing presses were set up in this country.

CHAPTER XVI

AMUSEMENTS

From the study of education we turn to a lighter side of life in the Middle Ages, its sports and pastimes, a subject attractive in itself, and one which throws a good deal of light upon Medieval manners. Nothing, perhaps, is so sure a test of a man's tastes as his method of amusing himself, because it is entirely a matter of choice; he may be forced by circumstances to follow an avocation he detests in order to gain a living, but he is rarely obliged to take up a recreation he dislikes.

The sport pre-eminently associated in our minds with the Middle Ages is hawking, and, indeed, it owed its existence to conditions of life then prevailing; for in the days when there were only feeble and clumsy guns, or none at all, the only chance of bringing down birds which flew out of the range of arrows was to send falcons after them. To say that people were fond of hawking would be far too mild a way of expressing their feelings; they had quite a passion for it, and valued their hawks more than anything they possessed. "I axe no more gods [goods] of you for all the servyse that I shall do yow whyll the world standyth, but a gosshawke," writes John Paston to his brother. They took intense pride in the skill of their hawks, and not without reason; a well-trained hawk was quite tractable to its master,

Following the Hawk.
From a Stall in Sherborne Minster; Wright, *History of Caricature and Grotesque.*

Ladies Hunting the Stag.
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners.*

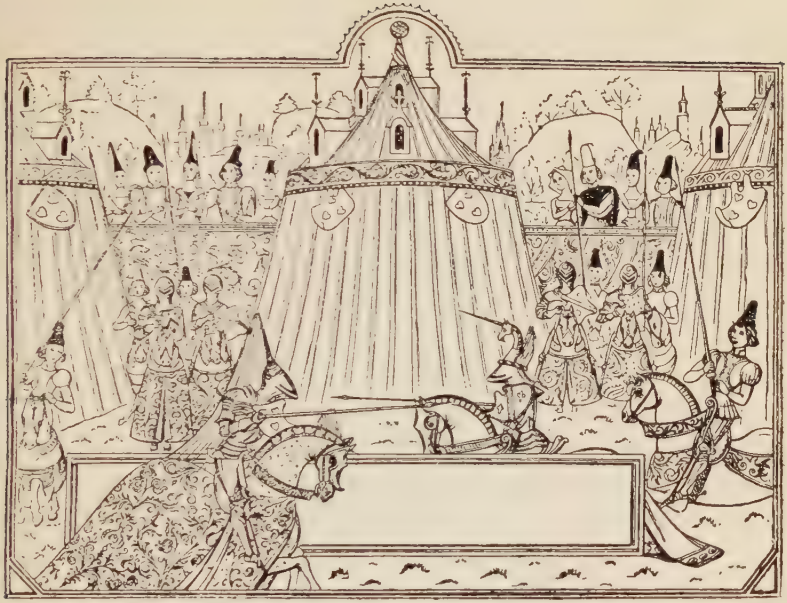
[*To face p. 231.*

although it was so fierce in pursuit of its prey. When not at work its head was covered with a hood, and it was carried on the wrist, being held captive by means of a little strap of leather attached to its legs; at the right moment it was set free, but as soon as it had killed its quarry it was called back. One of Henry V's falcons had a " chaperon d'or " worth forty shillings. Hawking was very expensive, both the birds themselves and the care of them cost a good deal; Richard II paid £21 6*s.* 8*d.* for two which he gave to the King of Navarre, and some of Edward III's falconers received as much as £18 a year. It was an aristocratic sport, and only gentlemen were allowed to keep hawks; if one were lost the finder was obliged to take it to the sheriff of the county, who made a proclamation about it so that the owner might claim it; but if it were not claimed, the sheriff might keep it by agreement with the finder if he were not a gentleman, but if he were of the rank to have a falcon he had a right to it.

Hunting was also a favourite sport amongst all who could afford to indulge in it, and people of sufficient wealth had their own " parks, warrens, and connigries," and kept horses and hounds. Thomas, Lord Berkeley (1368–1417), had hounds, not only at his manor houses, but also at most of his granges and farmhouses: at Hurst, in one year, they ate eighteen quarters of barley and oats. Three farthings a day was allowed for the keep of Edward III's dogs at Windsor, and in the ninth year of Henry IV's reign a payment of over £130 was made to the sheriffs of Somerset and Dorset for the King's hounds for a twelvemonth. The upper classes

endeavoured to reserve to themselves this sport also, and laymen who had not " lands or tenements to the value of forty shillings by the year " and priests " not advanced to the value of £10 by year " were forbidden, on pain of a year's imprisonment, to keep dogs for hunting, or to have ferrets, nets, or " other engine " to take or destroy deer, hares, conies, or " other gentlemen's game." Nevertheless there was a great deal of poaching; even members of the King's household indulged in it when they had a chance. The citizens of London had their own hunting grounds for coursing, and thought the privilege of sufficient importance to be included in their charter.

The nobility delighted greatly in justs and tournaments, which were held in honour of the ladies, to add lustre to festive occasions, or for other reasons. Sometimes knights, wishing to show their prowess, issued challenges to any one who chose to accept them; thus, in an interval in the war between England and France, three French knights held a tournament at St. Inglevere, near Calais, for thirty days, and nearly a hundred English knights and squires went to it. When the tournament was ended the English thanked the French knights warmly for the amusement they had given them, and praised their gallantry, and the French responded by thanking the English for their courtesy. Meetings such as this must have done much to inculcate good manners and to soften racial hatred, as well as to encourage skill in arms, and the international character of tournaments is one of their most interesting features. The great tournament which was held in London, in



The Feat of Arms at St. Inglebert's

Froissart, *Chronicles;* Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages.*

[*To face p. 232.*

1390, was proclaimed in Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders, and France, as well as in England ; but not all tournaments were on such a large scale. Tournaments were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence ; the nobles vied with each other in the splendour of their armour, and strove to distinguish themselves by deeds of valour, while the ladies of the Court looked on and bestowed prizes on the victors. In the evening, when the fighting was over, knights and ladies enjoyed themselves together, feasting and dancing. But tournaments were the outcome of the Feudal System ; their mimic combats were the complement of Feudal warfare, and when it decayed their importance necessarily declined. In earlier days they had fostered a martial spirit, and afforded real training in arms ; but during the latter part of the fifteenth century they were little more than gorgeous entertainments, held merely for amusement or to distract men's attentions from other matters. An incident which happened at a tournament held at Westminster in November, 1494, when Prince Henry was made Duke of York, shows how lightly they were regarded ; one of the combatants came into the lists on a horse decked with paper trappings, " ther apon peynted two men pleyng at dyse, and certain othes writtyn, nott worthey her to be rehearced," and it was done " to cause the Kyng to laugh." His adversary's horse was " empairelled in paper in maner of a barde." It is difficult to believe that a man like Henry VII could really enjoy such paltry jokes, but to deprive tournaments of seriousness was quite in accordance with his policy of diminishing the prestige of the nobility.

Another sport designed to prepare men for warfare was tilting at the quintain: there were many varieties of the game, perhaps the most interesting was one known as running at the Saracen. The figure of a Saracen fully armed, and holding in his right hand a sabre or club, and with a shield on his left arm, was hung on a pivot fixed to a pole in such a way that it turned very easily. The tilter rode at the figure and endeavoured to strike it in the face between the eyes or on the nose; but if he missed his aim, and struck some other part of it, the Saracen wheeled round and gave him a blow on the back with its sabre, to the great delight of the onlookers. It was a somewhat severe method of teaching accuracy of aim, and was practised by gentlemen's sons before they were old enough to be squires, and also by men of a lower class. Fighting at the Pel, which consisted of attacking a tree or post, supposed to represent a human body, was a species of quintain, and tilting at the ring, which we can see for ourselves at our military tournaments, was also derived from it.

Skill in wrestling was much appreciated in the Middle Ages: the City of Norwich sent seven wrestlers to appear before the King in 1413–4; it gave them new hoods for the occasion, and their expenses amounted to £3. We occasionally hear of horse-racing of a very informal kind; two Londoners, John Martyn and Miles Bysney, agreed to set two children upon two horses, start them from a spot two and a half miles from York, and let them race to Grymston Crosse, on the road from Hull to York. The man whose horse arrived first was to receive thirty shillings from the other. Swiftness in

running was necessary for success in many sports, and it was considered an essential part of a youth's physical training.

The more sober pastime of fishing was not despised; it is amongst the pleasures which Youth, personified as a feathered damsel, in Lydgate's version of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, declares she will enjoy.

Archery fell into disfavour with the people in the latter half of the fourteenth century, much to the displeasure of the legislators: labourers and servants of artificers and victuallers were ordered by Act of Parliament, in the reign of Richard II, to have bows and arrows and use them on Sundays and Holy days, and to leave off playing at "tennis or football, quoits, . . . casting the stone and other such importune games." Other statutes and proclamations include amongst unlawful games kailes (skittles), closh (a similar game), bowls and half-bowls, hand-ball (tennis played with the palm of the hand instead of with a racket, like the modern fives), club-ball, a game in which one player threw the ball and the other struck it with a straight bat, and cambuc, probably a kind of golf, the ball being hit with a curved bat called a bandy. Thus we can see what games were especially popular at this time; they were condemned, not for any intrinsic evil in them, but because they diverted attention from archery. Tennis was also played with rackets at the end of the fifteenth century. Games seem to have often been played in very unsuitable places: the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral complained to the Mayor that ungodly people, especially "in tyme of dyvyne service," exercised unlaw-

ful games in their cloister, whereby the walls were "defowled" and the windows broken. The Mayor answered that the custom of playing at ball, possibly in cloisters, and certainly in churchyards and other ecclesiastical places, was common elsewhere.

But while innocent sports such as we have described were prohibited, the barbarous custom of bull-baiting was actually encouraged. The municipal officers provided a rope for the bull, at Norwich, in 1375–6 and 1387–8; and the Coventry Leet, in 1424, forbade any butcher to kill a bull unless it had been baited at the accustomed place. At Stamford, the feast of St. Martin was celebrated by a bull-hunt, carried on by the Gild which bore his name. Cock-fighting was another cruel amusement, but for the honour of Parliament we are glad to say that it was included amongst unlawful games. Throwing at cocks was even worse; sticks heavy enough to seriously injure, and sometimes to kill, the birds were thrown at them, and any one who could knock one over and then run and secure it before it recovered its feet, could claim it as a prize.

Children played such of these games as were thought suitable for their tender years, including cock-fighting, and also amused themselves by spinning tops, catching butterflies, playing at ball, Blind Man's Buff, diving for apples in a bowl of water, and other recreations of a similar kind, just as they do now.

In addition to these outdoor sports there were many which could be enjoyed indoors; dancing, singing, "harpyng and lutyng" made many a long winter's evening seem all too short to the young people. Carol-

ling, a mixture of singing and dancing, was an accomplishment greatly admired. Those who did not care for these diversions found pleasure in chess, dice, draughts, tables (backgammon), or cards. The first four were very old games; but cards were not, as far as we know, much used in England before the middle of the fifteenth century. Money was often staked on games of chance, and the love of gambling seems to have been common amongst all classes. In an extremely interesting fourteenth century manuscript (*Roy. 2 B vii*) two men are depicted sitting on a form playing at dice; one of them has hardly any clothing, and the other none at all, which is, no doubt, the artist's graphic way of suggesting that they have lost everything they possessed at the game. Apprentices were bound over not to "haunt dice or other hasardy," but when they became masters some of them had their fling; and in consequence the Merchant Taylors of Bristol passed an ordinance that if any brother fell into mischief or poverty through playing dice, no help was to be given to him.

So far we have been concerned with the amusements in which people themselves took part, but there were others provided for them by persons who made a living in this way. The King and all great nobles kept Fools, whose wit was a source of much merriment; and they also had minstrels attached to their households. Edward III had nineteen—five "trompettes," one "citoler," five pipers, one "taberett," two "clarions," one "makerer," one "fideler," and three "waytes." The Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry IV) had six in his regular pay, in 1390–1 and 1392, when he went on his

expeditions to Prussia, and they formed a kind of military band. Henry V took eighteen with him to France, and he paid them twelve pence a day, that is as much as his master surgeons, and twice as much as his archers, so we can see how highly he valued them. Towns also had their own minstrels, who were prominent in all civic festivities: Coventry retained four in 1423, and a quarterly tax of 1*d.* on every house with a hall, and ½*d.* on every cottage, was levied for their maintenance. Sometimes nobles went to the trouble of having minstrels trained for them; the Duke of Norfolk made a covenant with William Wastell, of London, harper, to have the "sone of John Colet of Colchester, harper, for a yere to teche hym to harpe and to synge." Edward IV revived a gild and gave it jurisdiction throughout the country, and there were also gilds of minstrels at Chester, Beverley, and elsewhere, which helped to keep up the standard of proficiency; and that the fame of English singers spread beyond the shores of this country is attested by the fact that in 1442 the Emperor sent a messenger to bring six of them to him.

Various musical instruments were used by minstrels; amongst them were the rubible, a two-stringed instrument played with a bow, a gitern (a species of guitar), the sautrye (a kind of harp), and bagpipes, which are all mentioned by Chaucer. The *Liber Niger* speaks of "trumpettes," "shalmuse" (shalmes), and small pipes, and they also had the vielle, which was something like a violin, harps, lutes and tambourines, portable organs or dulcimers, and cymbals. To the accompaniment

1

PLAYING AT BALL.

2

EMBROIDERY.

3

Photo. *Donald Macbeth*

PLAYING THE VIELLE.

4

THE WHIPPING-TOP.

1, Glo'ster Cathedral; Wright, *Domestic Manners;* 2, MS. Roy. 2 B. vii, Wright, *ibid;* 3, MS. Roy. 10 E. iv; 4, MS. *id.*, Wright, *ibid*

[*To face p. 238.*

of these instruments they chanted poetry—stories from romances, legends of saints, or tales of heroes; and they naturally took special pride in the achievements of their patrons. A few sets of ballads composed in honour of great families have come down to us; one of the most interesting is the Stanley Cycle, which contains, among other poems, *The most pleasant Song of the Lady Bessy*. It is as long as one of the books of the *Iliad*, well constructed, vivid, dramatic, and marked by an epic breadth of treatment. The heroine is Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV; her uncle, the tyrant Richard, although his wife is alive, wishes to marry her because the throne is hers by right. She, however, loathes the murderer of her brothers, and is determined to marry no one but the young Earl of Richmond, to whom she is betrothed, and turns for help to Lord Stanley, to whose care she had been confided as a child. By appealing to his gratitude to her father, and his pity for herself, and cleverly playing on his fears for his own safety, she induces him to conspire against Richard and to send for Richmond, who comes and successfully overthrows the usurper at Bosworth. As Richard's body is being borne from the field of battle, she meets it and taunts it: to gloat, like a savage, over a dead enemy seems to us repulsive, but the incident did not grate on the poet's audience or he would not have put it in the song. Not all the poems chanted by minstrels were as exciting as this; some went on and on with interminable tales of the adventures of impossibly perfect knights and beautiful ladies, and were as dull as the tale of *Sir Thopas*; perhaps Chaucer was

slyly poking fun at them when he wrote it. Minstrels sometimes devoted themselves to less edifying subjects, such as the praise of wine and love of the baser sort, and sometimes they did not sing at all, but held a "debate": questions were asked and one person was chosen to answer them, and the fun consisted in puzzling the questioner as much as possible by making replies which were ostensibly appropriate, but did not really bear on the question at all. It sounds innocent enough, but often the jokes were very coarse, and as love was a favourite theme, this was particularly objectionable. Minstrels often told stories and illustrated them with gestures, and from these the transition to little dramas or interludes, by turning tales into dialogues, and gradually increasing the number of characters represented, was very natural, and by 1464 interludes were sufficiently common to be mentioned in an Act of Parliament.

When their presence was not required by their masters minstrels went about the country, visiting castles, manor houses, monasteries, towns and villages alike, and judging by the rewards they received they were welcome everywhere. Payments to minstrels, waits, "histrionibus," and players may be found in almost all household books, and in municipal and Churchwardens' accounts. We read in the *Records of the Corporation of Reading* of gifts to "lusoribus" in the Church of St. Lawrence, and in the *Accounts of Metyngham College* of one given to a "Herowde" of the Duke of Norfolk, so in both these cases we may assume that religious plays were acted, and sometimes the players

A Tumbler.
From a Misericord, Christchurch Priory, Hants.

Blowing the Trumpet and playing the Cymbals.
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners*.

[*To face p. 240.*

were not professional minstrels, but townspeople and others who took part in Mysteries.

In addition to these high-class minstrels and players, there were many other itinerant entertainers of a humbler kind; some disguised themselves as birds or animals and imitated their cries, others caricatured people. There were acrobats, rope-walkers, jugglers, conjurers, tumblers, and dancers and contortionists who performed very strange antics: some of them are showing off their accomplishments still, for us, in the pages of illustrated manuscripts. Under the guise of Salome fascinating Herod we can recognize a Medieval dancing girl, she is bending backwards until her head nearly touches the ground: they seem to have had a great liking for seeing women standing on their heads. In another picture a girl is balancing herself on two swords, her hands resting on the points and her feet in the air, while two men are making as much noise as they can with pipes and what looks like a drum. We can also see, if we wish, a man and a woman on very high stilts: the artist, who evidently loved a joke, has put two large birds behind them, one has the man's neck in his beak, and the other is just reaching out for the woman's hair. There are also numbers of performing animals, some of them drawn with great spirit and vigour, dancing bears, a monkey playing on hand-bells, and many others.

In the Middle Ages holy days were holidays, and the great festivals of the Church were celebrated with much merriment as well as by religious observances. Certain kinds of amusements were considered especially suitable for certain occasions—at Christmas mumming or dis-

guising was the invariable rule. The merry-makers put on masks, and personated all kinds of people, and even pretended to be animals. A great deal of license was allowed at such times; at Lincoln, for example, in 1480–1, from St. Thomas' Day to the Feast of the Epiphany, every denizen dwelling in the city was granted "free liberte and sayffegarde in honeste mirth and gam sportis to goo or doe what hym pleys," and none were arrested for any "accion personelx" unless the King were a party. Unfortunately revellers sometimes abused their privileges, and consequently, in London, in 1418 men were forbidden to walk by night in any disguisings with "feynyd berdis" or "peyntid visers." At first mummings were very simple; in 1377 mummers disguised as an emperor and a pope visited Richard II, before his accession: they entered his hall on foot, invited the prince and his lords to dice, discreetly lost, drank and danced with the company, and so departed. But during the course of the fifteenth century disguisings grew much more elaborate, speeches introducing the mummers, and even dialogues between them, sometimes became part of the performance. Mummers dressed as "rude vpplandishe people" appeared before Henry VI, at Hertford; the husbands complained of their wives, and the wives made boisterous answers, and a speech purporting to come from the King decided the matter between them: such was our ancestors' idea of enjoyment.

"Hocking" took place on the Monday and Tuesday following the second Sunday after Easter: on one of these days men held a rope across a road, and made

Lady and Hawks.
MS. Roy. 10 E. iv; Wright,
Domestic Manners.

A Piper.
Louttrell Psalter; Vetusta
Monumenta.

Ladies making Garlands.
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners.*

[*To face p. 242.*

every woman pay a forfeit before she passed, and on the other the women took toll of the men in a similar fashion. The proceeds were often handed over to the Churchwardens, and helped to swell the parochial funds : the " hockemoneye at Ester," 1485, given to St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, amounted to 9*s.* 10*d.* In many parishes convivial gatherings called church-ales were held on high-days and holidays : in anticipation of the event the churchwardens received gifts of malt or of money to buy it, and brewed a large quantity of ale. On the appointed day the parishioners met together in the church-house, or elsewhere, bought the ale and drank it, and the churchwardens used the profits for the good of the church. Certainly in those days people were great adepts in the art of enjoying themselves in the service of religion. In some places there were play-kings who held courts at Christmas and other seasons of the year : on these occasions kings' games or May-games were sometimes played, and especially at Whitsuntide and on the first of May. In the fifteenth century these games sometimes included interludes and episodes taken from the story of Robin Hood : the latter were not confined to village players ; Sir John Paston had a servant whom he kept in his employment for three years, in order that he might play " Seynt Jorge and Robyn Hod and the Shryff off Notyngham." Seynt Jorge was probably the principal character in the Mummers' Play of St. George which was performed in many parts of the country. The hero fights against a Turkish knight or some other opponent (the details are not always the same), and kills him, but he is afterwards

revived by a doctor; there are also several comic characters, a fool, a clown, a devil, and a boy dressed as a woman, who take minor parts, or come in after the play is ended and make remarks. Religious plays (mysteries and moralities) were often performed at Christmas or Easter, and particularly on Corpus Christi Day; in 1409 the parish clerks of London gave a play which began with the creation of the world and set forth nearly the whole of the history of the Old and New Testament, and lasted eight days. But as these plays deal with sacred subjects we will not include them amongst amusements, although amusing episodes were introduced into some of them.

Many Medieval indoor recreations were equally suitable for men and women, and were shared by both: they danced and sang, and played chess, cards, tables, draughts, and dice with each other, and together enjoyed the visits of minstrels and mountebanks. The intercourse between them seems to have been fairly free; the Knight of La Tour-Landry records an extremely frank conversation between a man and a woman, which arose out of a quarrel when they were playing at tables, and relates how a knight was summoned into the "priue chambre" of the ladies. They often saw each other at banquets and on other festive occasions, and even pilgrimages, according to him, afforded opportunities for flirtations. From Froissart we gain a similar impression; he tells us that the young Count de St Pol, who was a prisoner in England for a long time, fell in love with Maude, Richard II's step-sister, "they frequently met at dances, carollings, and at other

Medieval Dance.
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners*.

Photo. *Donald Macbeth.*

Sword Dance.
MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.

[*To face p. 244.*

amusements; so that it was suspected that the young lady tenderly loved the Count." In the pages of Chaucer we find more evidence of the same state of things; Dorigen, the virtuous wife of Arveragus, in the *Frankeleyns Tale*, who was grieving at the absence of her husband, was persuaded by her friends to put aside her sorrow, and "come and romen hir in companye." One May morning they determined to go and play "al the longe day" in a beautiful garden; after dinner they danced and sang, and a young squire who had worshipped Dorigen in secret for two years or more, poured out the story of his love to her. Ladies were very fond of roaming in gardens, gathering flowers, so the poets tell us; the author of the *Assembly of Ladies* describes how she and her friends were walking in a garden, but she adds naïvely—

"Not al alone
Ther were knightës and squyers many one."

Women also practised some of the same outdoor sports as men: hawking was not considered at all unwomanly; in a fourteenth century copy of the laws of England, the Empress Matilda is represented with a hawk on her hand, and there are an appreciable number of pictures of women hawking in other manuscripts. We have seen one picture of a woman thrusting a spear down the throat of a boar, but we do not think that many of them had nerve enough for this, though they certainly hunted stags, rabbits, and other small animals. We also see pictures of them playing at ball. They had, in addition, some peculiarly feminine occupations, and wiled away many hours in "wevinge or embrouderie."

Such, then, were some of the amusements which enlivened the leisure hours of men and women in the Middle Ages. Their knightly sports were very good for physical development, but they had nothing which gave them the training in combined action which we gain from cricket, football, and hockey. Even when several knights fought on the same side in a tournament there was little real organization, and a *mêlée* was not much more than a series of single combats going on simultaneously. A very enthusiastic writer on the *Craft of Honting* praises this sport in no measured terms; it is good, he says, for the health because the hunter does not eat too much, and therefore does not engender wicked humours which cause illness, and it is good for the soul because the hunter is too fully occupied to think of evil; so hunters not only live "longe and hole," but also "goon into paradis whan thei dey." Without committing ourselves to entire agreement with this somewhat exaggerated view, we must admit that there is some sense in it, and that strenuous exercise was particularly good for men in those days because it provided a vent for the spirit of lawlessness and quarrelsomeness which was so rampant. The cruelty of some of their sports must, however, have had a bad effect upon their character, and in this respect at least a great improvement has taken place since the Middle Ages; but the love of gambling still remains a national vice. No itinerant entertainers visit our houses, but we have concerts and operas instead of the songs of minstrels. Jugglers, clowns, conjurers and performing animals are with us still, though they do not perform quite the same

1

2

1.—Medieval Gamblers playing at Dice.

2.—A Game of Draughts.

MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners*.

[*To face p. 246.*

tricks, and they have grown more refined. Thus we see that although some Medieval amusements were the outcome of the age and passed away with it, many others are either still in existence or contained the germs from which our own have developed, so that in spite of apparent differences there is a great resemblance between Medieval and Modern pastimes.

CHAPTER XVII

TRAVELLING

In the Middle Ages, as M. Jusserand has shown in his delightful book on *English Wayfaring Life*, many men were going to and fro on the highways and byways of this country. They did not travel merely for the sake of sightseeing—travelling was far too serious a matter to be a holiday pastime—but because circumstances impelled them to take journeys. Merchants and traders travelled in pursuit of their business; they could not carry it on by telephone and telegraph, as we do now, and it was not always easy to find reliable messengers. One of Sir William Stonor's correspondents told him that he had two letters for him, but he could not find any one to bring them except a woman of Henley, and as soon as she was on horseback in the street she was arrested. Great landowners (or their agents) were often obliged to go from one end of the land to the other, to look after their property, which was scattered over two or three or more counties. The numerous lawsuits in which people engaged in those litigious days entailed visits to the courts in London, and the belief that pilgrimages benefited both the body and the soul led many sufferers or penitents far from home.

Travelling at that time was very different from what it is now, and we who have only to sit in a railway train

and let it carry us to our destination can hardly conceive the difficulties of a journey then. The condition of the roads in busy thriving towns was far worse than anything which could be seen in the tiniest village today. A petition presented to the King in Parliament declares that the town of Gloucester " is full febly paved, and full perilous and jepardous to your liege people to ryde and goo within the same toune, insomoch that dyvers and many persones of your Lieges have be there gretely hurt oftentymes, and in grete perill of their lyves." Many other cities were just as bad as Gloucester: in the reign of Edward IV the road along the Strand was " so much overflowed with water " that members of Parliament were delayed on their way to Westminster. Even Canterbury, a town which we should have thought would have found it well worth while to keep its streets in good repair so that pilgrims might not be discouraged from coming to its shrine, was not paved until 1477. If the roads were bad inside the towns, we may be sure they were ten times worse outside, and the sight of them must have added point to the Pardoner's offer to assoil his fellow pilgrims as they rode along, for, as he said, peradventure one or two might fall—

" Doun of his hors, and breke his nekke atwo."

Not only were the roads full of pitfalls but the bridges were often broken down, or there were none at all, and people had to find a ford and struggle across as best they could: thus the road between Abingdon and Dorchester, over the Thames, was " by an increase of water so much surrounded " that no one could pass

that way without risking his life, until bridges were made at Burford and Culhamford.

One of the reasons for this lamentable state of things was the difficulty of forcing those responsible for the upkeep of the roads and bridges to fulfil their obligations; it was one of the duties of Feudal landowners, but they often neglected it, and as the Feudal System decayed there were fewer of them to perform it. Sometimes the authorities did not even know who was to blame; in the thirteenth year of Henry IV's reign both the town of Beverley and the Chapter of the minster were presented at the Sheriff's Tourn for not repairing a certain street in Beverley, but it was found that neither of them were liable for it. Money was often given or bequeathed by pious persons for the maintenance of roads and bridges; it was regarded as a species of almsgiving, and considered quite as praiseworthy as feeding the hungry or clothing the naked, but contributions of this kind were by their nature spasmodic and uncertain.

Even more to be dreaded than the risk of injury from accidents were the attacks of robbers: Margaret Paston, writing to her husband in 1455, asks him to pay a debt for an aunt of hers because "she dare not aventure her money to be brought up to London for feere of robbyng." According to the author of the *Italian Relation*, no country in the world contained so many thieves and robbers as England; and Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, declared that more men were hanged for robbery and manslaughter in England in a year than in France in seven years.

The majority of people travelled on horseback, prob-

Travelling on Foot.
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii; Wright, *Domestic Manners.*

A Common Cart.
MS. Roy. 10 E. iv.

Photos. *Donald Macbeth.*

A State-Carriage.
Louttrell Psalter; Vetusta Monumenta.

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ably because it was the method best suited to the roads. In the fifteenth century women rode either side-saddle or astride, and sometimes "be-hynde a man"; they all (and men too) had big saddles with high pommels, and, in pictures, look as if they were sitting in chairs on the horses' backs, and perhaps the pommels kept them in their seats when their steeds stumbled. Low two-wheeled carts, drawn by two, three or even four horses, were much used; and from an illustration in Lydgate's *Falle of Prynces* (*MS. Harl.* 1766, f. 24) it appears that wooden erections with open sides and covered tops were sometimes placed inside them, but as we have not seen any other carts of this kind in other manuscripts they may have been due to the imagination of the illuminator. A few rich people, like the Duchess of Buckingham and the Earl of Derby, had carriages. In 1485 Henry VII entered London in a closed "chariot" drawn by several horses; state carriages were very expensive luxuries, one made for Eleanor, sister of Edward III, cost £1,000. Such carriages were very elaborately decorated both inside and out, as may be seen in a picture of a coach in the *Lutterell Psalter*, but they were very heavy and cumbersome, and must have jolted horribly over those badly made roads. Horse-litters were also used by grandees; the first time Margaret of Anjou visited London, she was brought "syttyng in a lytter by twyne ij [between two] goode and nobylle stedys i-trappyd with whyte sattin." Merchants who had purchased wares, and nobles who were moving from their country seats to their town houses, had a great deal of luggage; it was packed in chests or mails,

and was carried either by baggage-horses or in carts. The "ridinge housholde" of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, consisted of one hundred and eighty-eight persons, and amongst his horses were included eight "coursers for his sadelle," two ambling palfreys, "a maile horse and a botell horse, . . . four sompters, . . . seven chariotte horses," and two for the litter.

The rate of travelling was as a rule somewhat slow; the Canterbury pilgrims took from three to four days to go from London to Canterbury, a distance of fifty-four and a half miles. They probably stopped at Dartford, Rochester, and Ospringe, as these were the usual resting-places. The journey from Stoke, the Duke of Norfolk's place in Suffolk, to London generally took two days. Members of the University of Cambridge often came to London to transact Academic business, and they spent about a day and a half on the road: on one occasion the vice-chancellor set out on the return journey, after breakfast at his inn, on Saturday, and dined at Waltham; he had breakfast at Ware the next morning, so we suppose he slept there; he stopped for some slight refreshment at "Barkway," and arrived at Cambridge in time for dinner. The whole distance by this route is a little over fifty miles, so he of course rode much faster than the Canterbury pilgrims. From the accounts preserved in the *Grace Books* of the University we gain some interesting information with regard to the cost of travelling; 4*d.* a day was paid for the hire of a horse in 1483–4, and its fodder for a day and a night was put down at 3*d.* in 1488, and the expenses

of one man who rode to London in 1457–8 amounted to 4*s.* 4*d.* In 1483–4 Magister Smyth stayed in London, with two servants, for seven days and a half, and he spent—

	s.	*d.*
For victuals	16	10
For necessaries for the horses . . .	14	9
For firing	1	7
For boat hire to Westminster . . .	1	5
For medicine for the horse	3	4

Travellers who made long journeys sought shelter for the night at inns: in earlier days they would have gone to monasteries, but the hospitality of the religious houses was dying out, though they still entertained some guests. Lords and ladies lodged within their "stateli mansiouns," and perhaps the very poor who could not afford to pay for a bed, but persons of ordinary means went to inns. Thus we find that Catherine of Aragon, on her journey to London before her marriage, slept at Shirbourne, Shaftesbury, and Ambresbury Abbeys, and the Duke of Norfolk stayed in monasteries at Bury St. Edmund's, Thetford and "Reygate," but the representatives of the University of Cambridge generally went to the inn of one of the colleges, or to the *George* in Fleet Street, or to the *Sign of the Sword*. We also hear of them at *Symsons*, a tavern in Fleet Street, at the *St. John's Head*, and at the *King's Head*; but they did not lodge at all these places, sometimes they only dropped in and had a little wine. The size of the inn and the accommodation it provided depended a good deal upon the importance of the place in which it was situated, and the number of customers it obtained. At the *Taberd*, in Southwark, "the chambres and the

stables weren wyde" and the guests were made very comfortable. The *George* at Salisbury, in 1473, had only thirteen guest-chambers, and each of them contained several truckle beds, so it is clear that several persons were expected to sleep in the same room. This old inn, built in the fourteenth century, is still in existence, and when we see the massive oak beams which support the ceilings of the upper rooms we are not surprised that they have stood the test of time. The manners of those who met at inns were very friendly; we know how the Knight, the Squire, the Cook, the Ploughman, and all the rest of the Canterbury pilgrims rode along happily together, although most of them had never met before, and there was a great deal of difference in their social standing. Sometimes it is to be feared that travellers were too free and easy: in *Mary Magdalen*, one of the *Digby Plays*, a scene is laid in a tavern in Jerusalem; Mary enters with a female companion Luxsurya, and they drink some wine. Curiosity, a dandy, then comes in, and makes a speech, praising his beautiful clothes and declaring how much he loves his lady, but this does not prevent him wishing to have a pretty "tasppysster" (barmaid) to chat to: meanwhile Mary has seen him, and at the instigation of Luxsurya, who has been sent by the devil to lead her into sin, asks the landlord to fetch him to her. He comes very willingly and immediately starts making love to her; she is a little taken aback at first, but soon succumbs to his charms, they dance together, and take sops-in-wine, and finally he asks her to walk with him, and she replies that she will go with him to the world's end. This is

Photo. *Messrs. Watson & Co., Salisbury.*

EXTERIOR OF THE GEORGE INN, SALISBURY.

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only a fancy picture, and perhaps highly coloured in order to point a moral, but it must have had some basis in fact. Inns were not always very reputable places, and sometimes very unpleasant things happened in them, if we may believe the woful tales told in the Court of Chancery. John Russell, mariner, declared that while he was lying in his bed "faste on slepe," within an "hostey" at the New Abbey, the wife Peronell Smith and her "hosteler . . . broght certaigne theves to have robbed and slayn" him, and he was "grevously maymed." Another applicant for assistance said that John Rowle broke into the *Swan Inn*, Andover, about midnight, "made asawte a well to men as to wommen that were in their beddys, and toke away there cappys and kerchefes that were vppon there hedes, and put them in suche fere that they were in drede of theire lyfes."

Roads were not the only means of communication between different places, waterways were very much used. It would not occur to the Londoners of to-day to take a boat if they wanted to go on business from the Strand to Westminster, or Lambeth, or other districts lying near the banks of the Thames, though they might take an occasional pleasure trip to Hampton Court, when time was no object to them, but in the Middle Ages people did it continually. There are numerous entries of payments for boat-hire in many sets of accounts, but wealthy people like John of Gaunt sometimes had their own barges. The royal party at Catherine of Aragon's wedding went from London to Westminster in barges. A picture of the Tower of London in a fifteenth century copy of the Poems of the Duke of Orleans (*MS. Roy.* 16

F. 11) shows the river gay with boats, large and small; and a story told by Elizabeth, late the wife of John Barantyne, Esq., is more suggestive of Venice than of London as we know it; "John Smith, gentleman," she said, "carried her off in manner of war against her will, by water, from the House of the Friars Preachers, St. Martin's, within Ludgate." The inhabitants of other towns made use of their rivers in a similar manner, and they also served as links between more distant parts of the country, and many which would not now be thought navigable were deep enough to float the small vessels built in the Middle Ages. Many efforts were made to keep their course open, and statutes were passed forbidding any one to set up weirs, mills, stakes, piles or other obstructions which might prevent the passage of ships and boats. Commissioners were appointed to enforce the acts, and proceedings were taken against those who violated them, and this is one reason why there were so few bridges across rivers; but the frequent repetition of the statutes leads us to suspect that they were not very effective.

When there was no river available people put out to sea, and sailed along the coast from one port to another. In 1421 Alexander Seton, lord of Gordon, came down from Scotland to England by sea. The ship in which the Earl of Warwick sailed to the Holy Land, as depicted by John Rous, in 1485, is quite a good size, but the vessels in Medieval manuscripts are usually very small, and crowded with people who look much too large for them, but this peculiarity may be due to the artists' lack of skill; they frequently, especially in the earlier

manuscripts, made people appear much larger than they ought to have done in proportion to their surroundings. We know, however, from other sources that Medieval vessels were very small compared to our own, the largest of the ships which took pilgrims to Spain only carried a hundred and twenty, and a bounty offered by Henry VII to persons who built large ships was, on one occasion, given to three men who owned a ship of four hundred tons. Persons too poor to keep horses or too ill to sit upon them must have found the boats that went up and down the rivers a great convenience, for the cost of travelling by them was smaller, and the motion far less fatiguing, and it was perhaps easier for men in a boat than for men on land to defend themselves against attack. But even on the rivers travellers were not always safe; a complaint was made in the reign of Henry VI that Welshmen and other persons dwelling near the Severn had seized boats on that river, had "hewed" them in pieces, "and with force and arms" had beaten the people in them.

Travelling by sea had many drawbacks; little sailing vessels such as they had could easily be driven out of their course by the wind, and so often did this happen that the Magnus Intercursus, Henry VII's great commercial treaty with Flanders, contained a clause stipulating that English fishermen who took shelter in Flemish ports on account of storms or for any other reason, should be allowed to depart freely. There was also, of course, the graver danger of shipwreck, which was greater than it is to-day because their ships were so much more fragile than ours, and there were many minor

discomforts; our big steamers remain comparatively steady even in a fairly heavy sea, and everything that science can suggest is done to prevent them rolling, but their light craft must have been tossed like cockle shells when there was any swell. A very vivid description of the sufferings of the pilgrims who sailed to "Seynt Jamys" in Spain is given by a fifteenth century writer who had doubtless experienced them. As soon as they leave the land "theyr hertes begin to fayle," and by midnight they are lying about the deck groaning and crying after "hote malmesy" and salted toast, while the seamen jeer at them and say a storm is coming. Then the owner of the ship makes his appearance—

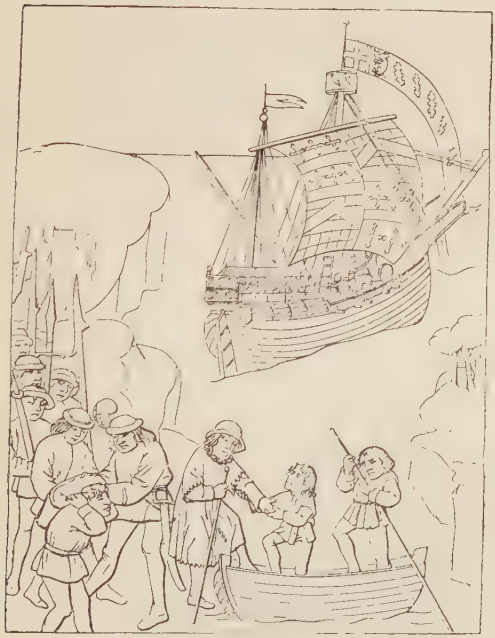
"Anone he calleth a carpentere
And byddyth hym bryng with hym hys gere,
To make the cabans here and there,
With many a febylle celle."

The sleeping accommodation for the passengers seems to have been very tardy and inadequate; when the cabins were ready there were not enough for everybody, and the writer goes on to say—

"A sak of strawe were there ryght good
Ffor som must lyg theym in theyr hood;
I had as lefe be in the wood,
Without mete or drynk;
For when that we shall go to bedde,
The pumpe was nygh oure beddes hede,
A man were as good to be dede
As smell therof the stynk."

In time of war, and sometimes during truces also, ships might fall into the hands of the enemy. The Celys tell some exciting tales of narrow escapes; "two

Ceiling of a Solar, George Inn, Salisbury.



Ship in which the Earl of Warwick went to the Holy Land.

Rouse, *Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick;* MS. Cott. Julius E. iv; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages.*

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Frensche men," writes William Cely, " chasyd an Englysch schypp afore Caleys . . . Syr Thomas Ewerynghame and Master Messefolde wt deversse sowldeers off Caleys rescudyd the Englysch schypp and toke the Frensche men." Ships were not without means of defending themselves; the *Margaret Cely*, a vessel probably of about two hundred tons, was armed with cannon, guns, and bows and arrows. She not only carried gunpowder and " pellettes of lede," but also " a mowllde of stone to caste leyd in." Pirates were always on the look out for plunder; there were numbers of them, and the English, French and Italians were particularly active. The Bretons on one side of the Channel and the English on the other made " the narrow sea " a terror to sailors: many of our south coast towns were nests of pirates. No one was safe from them, and they were not content with stealing men's goods, but sometimes seized their persons also and imprisoned them until ransoms were paid, and occasionally they murdered their victims. In 1405 a commission was appointed to make inquiries concerning evildoers of " Newcastle-on-Tyne, Blakeney, Wyveton, Claye, Crowemere " and other towns who captured two ships of Amsterdam, on the high seas, and threw overboard and drowned thirty-six merchants and mariners in the said ships, and took the ships with goods and merchandise.

Such were the conditions under which men travelled in the Middle Ages: whether they were on sea or whether they were on land they had to contend against many difficulties and dangers, and we cannot but admire the hardihood and courage with which they faced them.

CHAPTER XVIII

NATIONAL CHARACTER

To the majority of men, we think we may safely say, the study of their fellow-men is the most absorbing of all studies, the problems of human character the most fascinating of all problems. We have tried to picture to ourselves the lives of our forefathers in manor-house and cottage, in monastery and market-place, to learn how they worked and how they played, what they ate and drank, and how they dressed; but most of all we want to know what manner of men and women they were. To this question we have not yet been able to give our full attention because we have been so occupied with trying to understand the conditions under which their lives were passed, but it is time for us to turn from the consideration of their environment to look at the people themselves. We have, at intervals, caught glimpses of them, and, in passing, have ventured to make a few suggestions about their characters; but these have, of necessity, been scattered and fragmentary, and now we wish to gather them together, and to add to them some information gained from other sources, so that we may, if possible, have a clear and comprehensive conception of them. But we confess that the thought of what we are attempting to do fills us with misgivings, for we realize how difficult it is to form an

accurate estimate even of the people amongst whom we live ; how, then, can we hope rightly to judge those whom we have never met ? We are, however, a little reassured by the remembrance that in many cases we have records of their words and actions written by themselves or their contemporaries, and that in these their character is reflected as surely as it was in their faces and their voices when they were alive. But were the difficulties of the task far greater, and the encouragement to undertake it far less, we could not shirk it, because we should leave undone that part of our work which we think most worth doing, we should omit its *raison d'être*, we should have set up a picture-frame without any portrait in it.

It may be urged that human nature is always the same—stirred by the same passions and ruled by the same laws—and that it is unnecessary to describe what any one can see for himself by looking around him. This statement, however, is only partly true ; there are fundamental traits which are common to all human beings, and the elements of human nature are undeniably always the same, but they may be combined in different proportions at different times with different results, because varying circumstances call into special prominence now one set of faculties and now another. Then, too, nations, like individuals, grow and develop, and a nation in its maturity puts away many things which belonged to its childish days. Our efforts will be devoted to endeavouring to discover what characteristics were especially prominent in the English people during that stage of their development with which we

are dealing, but we do not in the least wish to infer that none of them existed at any other time or in any other race; on the contrary, we believe that although some of them were the products of the age, others were distinctive of them as Englishmen, and many were inherent in them as human beings.

One of the most noticeable features in the character of the men of the later Middle Ages was their lawlessness. They were continually quarrelling: sometimes they settled their disputes by arbitration, or fought them out in the law courts, but they far more often appealed to brute force, and might was right. We have given some instances of the outrages committed by the nobles, and of disturbances of the peace by both students and graduates at the Universities, but riotous and high-handed behaviour was not confined to them; all classes in the community disgraced themselves by crimes of violence—murder, assault, forcible seizure of other men's property, and similar misdeeds. Even women cannot be entirely exonerated: some of the King's Welsh tenants of "Hadnock and Clifford in Monmouth lordship, duchy of Lancaster," laid a petition before the Chancellor setting forth the oppressions and trespasses done by the "Lady of Bergevenny," her steward and servants, whereby one of them was beaten and left "in point of dede," another threatened with death until "he made fyn and raunson" and bought his life for a certain sum of gold, and another was hanged without process of law because he complained. The worst offenders were those who had the most retainers and were the most powerful.

Piracy, which was extremely common, was in part the outcome of this spirit of lawlessness; but it cannot be considered distinctively Medieval, as it continued to flourish long after the close of the Middle Ages. Lack of respect for law and order is so alien to the English character that it seems necessary to account for it, and we think it was largely due to the weakness of the central Government, which, especially during the period between the death of Edward III and the accession of Henry VII, was not strong enough to enforce its commands. Laws on the same subject were passed and confirmed again and again, and persistently disregarded, until we almost come to the conclusion that they were little more than expressions of a wish for reform. Local authorities also showed signs of weakness, and breaches of the law were encouraged by the frequency with which punishments nominally severe were lightened or entirely remitted. John Bristowe of Reading was ordered to pay a fine of four thousand tiles, because he had been rebellious to the Mayor, but he was let off three thousand of them on the spot; and sometimes offenders were allowed to go unpunished because they were too poor to pay a fine: the idea of imprisonment as an alternative did not find favour because it entailed a good deal of trouble and expense on the community. Canon Rashdall brings forward the case of an "organ player" of All Souls, Oxford, who had been imprisoned for an offence he had committed, but upon his weeping bitterly the Warden was inspired with a "good hope of him for the future" and became surety for him. In reading Mr. Riley's *Memorials of London* we have often been

struck by the number of the culprits who confessed their faults, but we cannot help suspecting that they did not do it entirely from a feeling of penitence, but because it was good policy. But while we thus find many persons escaping from the punishment which should have guarded against the repetition of their misdeeds, numbers of others, judging from the petitions for writs of "corpus cum causa" addressed to the Chancellor, were, through the malice of their enemies, or the greed of extortionate officials, and especially those of the Marshalsea, London, imprisoned without any reason whatever, and sometimes forced to pay ransoms in order to regain their freedom. We could not, therefore, even if we attributed the leniency shown to delinquents wholly to kindliness of heart (though we do not think this hypothesis could be justified), assume a uniformly high level of humanitarianism. Moreover, the gruesome accounts to be found in chronicles of the executions of criminals, and the mutilation of their bodies after death, prove that the men of the Middle Ages could be horribly cruel, and the barbarity of some of their amusements give us the same impression. The delight they took in revenge may be seen in one of their political songs called "*For Jake Napes Sowle, Placebo and Dirige,*" which, in the guise of a dirge, is a savage exultation over the murder of the Duke of Suffolk, invoking blessings on his murderers. Consequently, looking at the matter from these different points of view we are constrained to believe that they were slack in carrying out the sentences of the law mainly because they shrank from the trouble it would have caused them, or the

risks it would have involved. But with the object of frightening culprits into behaving better in the future, and perhaps from a desire to uphold their own dignity, they uttered threats which sounded very alarming but often meant very little, with the inevitable result that their authority was undermined and the people grew more and more lawless.

Another very general characteristic of the men of those days was their acquisitiveness. Poets, moralists, chroniclers, all complain of their covetousness: sometimes the accusation is brought against one class, and sometimes against another, but hardly any one seems to have been free from it. Merchants were not afraid to burden their consciences with usury, although it was condemned as a heinous sin; clergy, "ravynous of worldly good," held more livings than they could possibly serve, and utterly neglected their spiritual duties; lawyers defended unjust causes for the sake of money. Loyalty and truth were cast aside in the struggle for wealth. The English captains, said the chronicler Hall, writing of what went on in the reign of Henry VI, had small confidence in the Normans, and "not to much in some of their awne nacion. . . . Bribery and . . . couetuousness ran so fast abrode with French crounes, that vnneth any creature (without an especial grace) could hold either hand close, or pursse shut, suche a strong percer is money, and suche a gredie glutton is auarice." It was most difficult to gather together an honest set of jurymen, as they continually perjured themselves "for the great gifts" which they took of "Parties in Pleas" sued in the courts.

The evil effects of excessive greed of gain can also be traced in the low standard of commercial morality at this time. We hope it is not necessary to accept as literally true such sweeping statements as those made by a jury of presentment at Nottingham, in 1395—all the shoemakers of Nottingham sell shoes too dearly, and put calf-skins among ox-leather, . . . all the weavers and fullers take too much for their art . . . all the apothecaries sell spices by unusual and unfaithful weights. Nevertheless we have every reason to believe that there was a very great deal of swindling and cheating: the Rolls of Parliament and the Statute Book contain numerous denunciations of these evils and many Acts designed to check them. There are complaints of embezzlement of the customs by the King's officers, of deceits in measuring, weighing and packing goods, of the sale of defective cloth, of false fulling by false workmen, of defaults in the work of embroiderers, and of frauds of various kinds by many merchants and artisans.

One of the reasons why so high a value was set upon money was that the growth of trade and industry, which was taking place, created a demand for it, and at the same time provided means of investing it profitably. The increasing luxury and ostentation of the age, the wish for better houses, better food, and better clothing, also made the money which could obtain them a great object of desire, and a necessity for those who wished to attain social eminence.

Regarding extravagance in food and dress we have already said much, but we should like to add two points

which illustrate a curious characteristic of the Medieval mind, its lack of the power of discriminating between serious and trivial faults. Moralists most severely condemned vanity; in the *Visions of Patrick's Purgatory*, by William Staunton, an appalling description is given of the punishments which Patrick declares he saw inflicted upon those guilty of it. "I saw some there," he says, "with collars of gold about their necks, and some of silver, and some men I saw with gay girdles of silver and gold, and harneist horns about their necks, some with more jagges on their clothes than whole cloth, sum had their clothes full of gingles and belles of silver all overset, and some with long pokes (bags) on their sleeves. . . . And then I looked on him that I saw first in payn, and saw the collars, and the gay girdles, and bawdricks burning, and the fiends dragging him; and two fingers deep and more within their flesh was all burning; and I saw the jagges that men were clothed in turn all to adders, to dragons, and to toads, and many other horrible beasts, sucking them, and biting them, and stinging them with all their might; and through every gingle I saw fiends drive burning nails of fire into their flesh. I also saw fiends drawing down the skin of their shoulders like to pokes, and cutting these off, and drawing them over the heads of those they cut them from, all burning as fire." Nothing worse could have happened to them if they had committed the most terrible crimes. Drunkenness, on the other hand, which to us seems to call for far more blame than wearing gold and silver collars and bells, aroused very little indignation in them. In a little poem *How the Good Wife taught*

her Daughter, the mother, whose ideals are unimpeachable in other respects, tells the girl—

"For if þou be ofte drunke, it falle þee to schame,"

so apparently a few outbreaks did not matter, even in a woman. Men had still more licence; it was rarely treated as a University offence at Oxford.

Lapses from the paths of domestic virtue were, as we have once or twice hinted, all too common, and unfortunately they were condoned in high places. The position of Katherine Swynford, the mother of John of Gaunt's younger children, was acknowledged at the State ceremonies of Westminster and Windsor, during the lifetime of his second wife. The presence of Alice Perrers at the court of Edward III was an open scandal, yet the bishops did not protest against it. Possibly the middle classes were a little better than the upper, for in this case although "the Archbishop and his suffragans became as dumb dogs, not daring to bark," the people murmured loudly; and when at a later date Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, deserted his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, and lived with Eleanor Cobham, the women of London presented a petition to the House of Lords, asking that he would send Eleanor away, and take back Jacqueline. It is to the credit of many municipal corporations that they tried to check the evil by punishing those who went astray.

So far we only seem to have discovered the vices of the men of the later Middle Ages, and they certainly do appear more prominent than their virtues; nevertheless, they had their good points. No one to our

knowledge called their courage in question; "they have a very high reputation in arms," writes the author of the *Italian Relation*, "and from the great fear the French entertain of them, one must believe it to be justly acquired." Their faults were not those of cowards, they quarrelled, murdered, and robbed openly, and not in a cunning and underhand way. Murder by poison, though not unheard of, was rare. Not only soldiers, but ambassadors, merchants, traders, and seamen did their work in the face of many dangers and difficulties, for, as we have seen, travelling both by sea and land was full of peril. Coping with them encouraged a spirit of enterprise, which manifested itself in voyages of discovery during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and bore further fruit in after years.

Their ostentation and extravagance were to some extent balanced by their hospitality and generosity. Most people gave a good deal of money to charity during their lives, and even more when they died. Benefactions and legacies to the sick, prisoners, needy scholars, poor maidens, and all kinds of necessitous people were very general. Yet occasionally we find the most extraordinary inconsistency in their behaviour in this respect. John of Gaunt, who was so kindly and generous in his gifts to the poor (see p. 99), gave orders to his seneschal that in view of the peril which might arise from the pestilence, in 1375, he was to take surety for payment from all "fermers" who held of him, or turn them out. Surely a little leniency to his own tenants in such a time of need would have been far better than sending wine to prisoners at Newgate. Records of visitations show

that it was sometimes necessary for the visitor to stir the people up to repair their churches, or to renew the books and vestments, but, as a rule, they seem to have been very willing to do their part: a rich man would build the nave of a church, or add a chapel or chantry to it, but the poor did not lag behind the rich in good intentions. Contributions for the building of Bodmin Church ranged from 1*d.* to £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; the maintenance of the fabric, ritual, bells, books, and vestments of the church at Croscombe, Somersetshire, was provided by alms, and the parishioners belonged mainly to the lower and middle classes; there were only two families amongst them wealthy enough to give endowments. But while we fully realize that this readiness to support their churches and to help the poor was most praiseworthy, we cannot attribute it wholly to generosity; the promptings of local patriotism, and a belief that almsgiving conduced to their spiritual welfare mingled with this motive, and frequently bequests were made on the condition that the recipient should pray for the soul of the donor.

This thought brings us face to face with a most difficult question—were they or were they not religious? We fear we cannot answer it satisfactorily, but we can at least state the matter as it seems to us to stand. But first we should like to make it quite clear that we are not dealing with the Lollard minority, whose religious earnestness, whether we think them heretics or heroes, is beyond doubt, but with the majority of ordinary people. Outwardly religion played a very large part in their lives; they not only built a great many churches,

but also worshipped in them very often, far more often than the generality of men nowadays. Their choice of books shows that they were very much interested in religious subjects right up to the close of the fifteenth century. Caxton, during the last two years of his life, printed more books dealing with religion than with anything else, and throughout his career their number was large in proportion to the total number of works he produced. Wynkyn de Worde, who was essentially a popular printer, also issued an appreciable quantity of books of a religious nature. Such drama as they had was religious : it consisted of Mystery Plays and Moralities. The Mysteries, however, contained much that was not religious, not taken from the Bible or any other religious work, but from everyday life, and exactly the same may be said of many of the scenes depicted on misereres, and in other places in churches. This curious blending of the sacred and secular was not, we think, due to intentional irreverence, but to a childish inability to draw a sharp line between the two, an intellectual rather than a moral weakness. There are some other features of the age, however, which lay it open to the charge of irreverence. Repeated prohibitions of Sunday trading show that it was not at all uncommon ; this in itself does not prove much, even if we condemn the practice as irreligious, because the desire to stop it is also obvious, but a letter written by Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Mayor of London, on the subject, is very significant. He complains that the barbers of London follow their craft on Sunday, and goes on to say " so greatly has the malice of men in-

creased in these days, . . . that temporal punishment is held more in dread than clerical, that which touches the body or the purse more than that which kills the soul, we do heartily entreat you . . . that . . . you will enact and ordain a competent penalty in money to be levied . . . upon the Barbers within the liberty of your City aforesaid, who shall be transgressors in this respect." Attacks upon the clergy with intent to injure or kill them indicate a great weakening of the religious sentiment, as respect for the priesthood was very strongly inculcated by the Church and held a very important place among its doctrines. Some of these assaults we have already described, so that it will, perhaps, suffice to mention that on one occasion alone the Papal nuncio received a faculty to absolve fifty persons who had laid violent hands on priests and clerks. Moreover, these assaults were sometimes perpetrated in sacred buildings, while services were being held. A priest, John Bertone, was attacked while he was officiating in the chapel of Aldershot, and was so severely injured that his life was despaired of. It is difficult to believe that the religion of people who scorned ecclesiastical punishments, violently assaulted priests, desecrated places of worship, and were not even restrained by reverence for Divine service, had much depth, although they all attended Mass every day.

There was, however, one conviction which was thoroughly engrained in them, the belief that they would be punished after death for the sins they had committed in life, and that they could be saved from part of the punishment by the prayers of people still living. The

Photo. *Messrs. Firth & Co., Reigate*

INTERIOR OF ST. THOMAS' CHURCH, SALISBURY,
Showing a fresco of the Last Judgment over the Chancel Arch.

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influence which this belief exerted over them may be seen in the universality of the custom of leaving money by will to pay for prayers for the soul. The anxiety of testators to make sure that these prayers would not be forgotten, and their dread that their executors would not carry out their instructions about them are sometimes very pathetic, and must have added greatly to the terrors of death. A man named John Smyth, of Bury St. Edmunds, appointed no less than three executors, and twenty feoffees for the land which was to provide the money for the maintenance of his chantry. He adjured them not to break his intent with regard to it, and had three supervisors to see that they fulfilled his wishes. The same feeling found expression in pictures of devils carrying off the souls of the dead, and of frescoes of The Last Judgment and of the Dance of Death which they painted in their manuscripts and churches, or worked into their tapestry. The physical consequences of death also seem to have made a deep impression upon their minds. Another Bury man, John Baret, prepared a tomb for himself in St. Mary's Church; it is surmounted by the recumbent figure of a corpse in a winding sheet, which is laid open to exhibit the havoc death has made on the body. This view of life as "a race to death" and this insistence upon the most repulsive aspect of it seem to point to an undercurrent of morbid gloom in their temperament. This feature was not peculiar to the English; people of all nationalities shared it, and sometimes it cropped up in the most unexpected places: there is, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a playing-card, which once belonged to Car-

dinal Ascanio Sforza, with a skeleton painted on the back of it. The realism with which writers of mysteries and illuminators of manuscripts depict suffering is perhaps another manifestation of the same feeling. They give the most minute details, and make the scenes as long-drawn-out as possible. A copy of Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund* contains five pictures of the martyrdom of St. Fremund, who was beheaded; in one of them the body remains in position after the head has been cut off, and a long jet of blood spirts up into the face of the executioner. In the *Towneley Mysteries*, a whole play is devoted to the buffeting, another to the scourging, and another to the actual crucifixion, the torturers make jokes, and mock Christ, and vie with each other in barbarities. The intention of the writer was, no doubt, to stir up religious devotion, but the plays are so intensely painful to read, that we cannot imagine how the audience could have borne to watch them hour after hour. We can only suppose that the roughness of their own lives and the scenes of violence which they saw enacted around them somewhat blunted their feelings.

But it must not be thought that they were always sad and gloomy; on the contrary, they had a most exuberant sense of humour. They took great delight in drawing and carving quaint creatures, animals with the faces of men and women, or with the head of one kind of animal or bird, the body of another, and the legs of a third, or purely imaginary beasts. If they formed parts of a long narrow border they were absurdly elongated, but if they had to fill a broad space they

Domestic Discord—The Wife in the Ascendant.
From a Stall in Sherborne Minster; Wright, *History of Caricature*.

Photos. *Donald Macbeth.*

A Quarrel.
Grotesques from the *Loutterell Psalter;* Wright, *ibid.*

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were made ridiculously fat. Some manuscripts are full of them; those in a copy of the *Decretals of Gregory IX*, made for the monks of Smithfield (*MS. Roy.* 10 *E. IV*), now in the British Museum, are especially numerous and delightful; they are in the borders, on the tops of the pages, and down the middle of them, and in every available place. They are often to be found in Psalters and Books of Hours. Medieval artists thoroughly enjoyed turning things around them into ridicule; in another manuscript in the British Museum (*MS. Roy.* 2 *B. VII*) there is a sham tournament, with monkeys fighting instead of knights. Eccentricities of fashion were very tempting; there is a hideous caricature of a horned head-dress on a miserere in Ludlow Church. Quarrels between husbands and wives struck them as very humorous; we have noticed how often they were introduced into Mystery Plays, and they are also often to be found on stalls in churches, and curiously enough the wife is frequently represented as the victor in the fight. Their favourite butts, however, were devils, who figure largely in the later Mystery as comic characters: it is strange that this should have been the case, because every one believed so firmly in their existence, and was so afraid of them, but perhaps it made laughter at their expense all the more exciting. Medieval humour was not always as innocent and inoffensive as in the examples we have described; it could be extremely coarse and vulgar, and sometimes it was very profane. M. Jusserand tells us of bacchanalian revels in churchyards, and of parodies of hymns and prayers. Vigils of the dead were sometimes occasions for orgies; the Palmers'

gild at Ludlow found it necessary to forbid watchers to put on monstrous masks. Perhaps these wild and repulsive outbursts were to a large extent caused by a reaction against, or an attempt to throw off the morbid gloom which oppressed them.

There was a good deal of childishness in many of their jokes, but even more in their credulity. Nothing was too wonderful for them to accept: Capgrave declares that blood ran out of a tree because it was cut on Sunday; Froissart relates that a man named Robert the Hermit (a squire of Caux) said he had seen a figure as bright as crystal in a vision at the close of a storm at sea, and it ordered him to tell the King of France to make peace with England, and to interfere boldly in the conference for this purpose. He was consequently sent to England to negotiate regarding the matter. We have already alluded to their belief in charms, and in astrology: they had so strong a faith in the possibility of transmuting metals and discovering the elixir of life that Royal licences were granted to persons working with these objects in view. Their love of the marvellous is also to be seen in the continued popularity of *Mandeville's Travels* and of a fabulous history of *Alexander the Great*. Sorcery and necromancy were regarded as horrible crimes and sources of great danger; in 1419, Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered public prayers, litanies and processions, to protect the King and his army against the wicked operations of magicians. Witches could be burnt under the Statute of Heretics, and accusations of working by magic were sometimes brought against prominent persons for politi-

cal purposes. It was said that Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, with the assistance of a woman called the witch of Eye and a clerk named Bolingbroke, who was a necromancer, had compassed the King's death, by placing a waxen image of him before the fire and allowing it to waste away by slow degrees. The unfortunate witch was burnt, Bolingbroke was hanged, and the Duchess, after she had done public penance, was imprisoned for life. But the authors of the *History of English Law* inform us that sorcerers and witches were as a rule treated with much less severity in England than abroad.

A more pleasing trait in their character was their fondness for animals: they were, as we have noticed, devoted to their falcons, horses and dogs. Animals are to be seen in many of the miniatures in manuscripts, and are still more often introduced into the borders. They obviously made companions of their dogs; and ladies fed their "smale houndes" very daintily. We do not come across cats nearly as often as dogs, but we do not think they were objects of dislike, as Mr. Wright suggests. One of the duties of the chamberlain of a great noble was to drive the "dogge and catte" out of his lord's chamber after he had put him to bed, but apparently both of them were allowed to be there in the daytime. When the Friar in the "*Somnours Tale*" visited the sick man, he found a cat on the bench beside him, and amongst the rules laid down in the *Boke of Curtasye* for those who wished to learn good manners is the advice not to stroke the cat or dog while sitting at meat in the Hall. People also made pets of squirrels

and monkeys, but their love for some kinds of animals did not prevent them tormenting others, and they amused themselves, as we know, with bear and bull baiting and cock-fighting. In this as in many other respects they showed a great deal of inconsistency.

Their literature does not lead us to think that their artistic faculties were very highly developed; their writers, with the exception of Chaucer and Malory, were far more anxious to make their work edifying than to make it beautiful. Moreover, many of them were extremely conventional, and conventionality stifles art. If one of their number expressed a good idea in a happy phrase, all the rest copied it, until it became little more than a formula. A good example of this peculiarity may be seen in the custom of beginning poems with a reference to the season of the year, the position of the planets, and the time of day. They were so anxious to acquire a reputation for learning that they crowded into their books as much miscellaneous information, and as many stories and quotations from such of the classical authors as were known to them as possible. Some of them were not at all to the point, and even when they were appropriate there were far too many of them. But the literary critics of those days, far from resenting these plagiarisms, admired them, and enjoyed them all the more because they had heard them before: they could not have had our hatred of monotony, far less our appreciation of originality.

From illuminated manuscripts we gain very varied impressions: some of the work of the first half of the fourteenth century is clever and extremely interesting.

Caricature of a Horned Head-Dress.
From a Misericord in Ludlow Church; Wright, *History of Caricature*.

Photos. *Donald Macbeth.*

A Picture from the Smithfield Decretals.
M.S. Roy. 10 E. iv.

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A Psalter of the Saint Omer family, executed in Norfolk, about 1350, and now in the possession of Mr. Yates Thompson, is embellished with some extraordinary minute paintings. One page contains little miniatures representing scenes from the Old Testament, and into the border which edges it are woven numbers and numbers of other scenes, and birds, and animals, all fitting excellently into the general design. The figures are very tiny, and yet they are perfectly clear and distinct, and their meaning quite intelligible ; it is a triumph of eyesight and patience. The *Smithfield Decretals*, which we have so often quoted, were executed early in the fourteenth century ; their merit lies in their freshness and vigour. The artist entirely ignores the subject-matter of his book, and gives us pictures of the people around him, and illustrations of the tales current amongst them. His trees look like green artichokes on the end of broom-sticks, and his houses like sentry boxes, but the postures of the men and women he draws are very expressive, and his animals especially are full of life. He enters so thoroughly into the spirit of the stories he tells without words, that he carries us along with him, and makes us feel that we have really been in touch with what he saw. A manuscript (*Harl.* 1319) probably written in 1399, which describes the deposition of Richard II, and the events immediately preceding it, is remarkable for individuality of treatment, and for the portraits it contains. The artists of the fifteenth century do not show the same spirit or inventiveness as those of the fourteenth, or their talent for depicting the everyday life of their own times. For inspiration

they depended much more upon the writers of the books they illustrated than their predecessors, and consequently if they are dealing with a lively subject like *Mandeville's Travels* their pictures are attractive; but if with a dismal topic like the *Falle of Prynces* they are dull and wearisome. Their execution is very unequal, but some very careful and delicate work may be found, as in *Lord Lovell's Lectionary* (*Harl. MS.* 7026), and in a Missal (*Additional MS.* 29,704); but on the whole their technique is inferior to that of the French and Flemish artists of the day, especially in finish and in the manipulation of the landscape. This is also true of the illustrations of the earliest productions of the English printing press; its woodcuts are few and poor, and do not compare at all favourably with those in the French, Italian, and Flemish books of this period.

If we turn to architecture, however, we form a very high opinion of their artistic capacities. The men who built the "Decorated" churches of the fourteenth century, at once so graceful and so strong, could not have been deficient either in a feeling for beauty or in constructive skill. The Perpendicular style, which originated in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and continued throughout the fifteenth, tended in its later stages to become a little stereotyped and too ornate, but the best specimens of it are undeniably very beautiful. The style is characteristically English, and in no way inferior to the latest developments of Gothic architecture on the Continent.

The English, at this time, as we hope we have already demonstrated, were extremely fond of music, and it

formed a very important element in their education, their religion, and their amusements.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the cultivation of manners, not only by people in the upper ranks of society, but also by the middle classes. A *Book of Good Manners* which Caxton brought out at the request of a mercer, who had benefited by reading it, was so popular that he reprinted it four times before the close of the century, and Wynkyn de Worde issued several similar books. From them we can tell what their ideas on these subjects were; the advice given was, as we noticed when we were discussing their behaviour at table, quite good but exceedingly elementary. Their efforts to improve in this respect seem, however, to have been very successful, for the author of the *Italian Relation* is most complimentary about their manners; "they are," he says, "extremely polite in their language" . . . "in addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered, with an admirable grace whilst they talk to each other." But they evidently had their limitations; their way of treating foreigners was peculiarly unpleasant, and perhaps he smarted under it himself, for he says with some bitterness, "The English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that he looks like an Englishman, and that it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman, and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner,

they ask him whether such a thing is made in their country?"

It is interesting to see in what points our ancestors were like us, or to put it more correctly, as we are their children, in what points we are like them. We hope, and we think, that we resemble them in courage, enterprise, and generosity, and we fear we must admit that we also resemble them in acquisitiveness. Love of money is as strong in our days as it was in theirs, and for the same reasons; ours is like theirs an age of great commercial activity, and of a rising standard of living; that it is not now accompanied by widespread dishonesty, bribery and corruption is a sign that we have made an advance in commercial morality. We still have hooligans amongst us, but we do not show any general tendency to lawlessness, and we have not inherited their credulity or their morbid gloom, probably because they were not inherent characteristics of our race, but due to conditions which have now passed away. Our humour, we express in forms somewhat different from theirs. Few, we think, will deny that the general level of literary taste is much higher now than it was then, but many will agree that our architecture is not as beautiful or original as theirs, and we all feel that it is very greatly to be deplored that we are no longer a musical nation. It is difficult to compare our manners with theirs, for though we have not the ceremoniousness which the anonymous author we have quoted so greatly admired, we should never dream of committing the blunders which the *Book of Curtasye* so solemnly warns them to avoid. In the centuries

which have rolled between us and them we have lost much and gained much, but we still have enough in common with them to enable us to sympathize with their joys and sorrows, and to recognize in them our own flesh and blood, and this is perhaps why we take so keen an interest in their life and manners.

Appendix

AUTHORITIES

CHAPTER I

P. 1. Influence of the aristocracy over elections: *Paston Letters*, edited by J. Gairdner (1904), V. 149.

Privileges of the aristocracy: Hoccleve, *Works*, edited by F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Soc. Extra Ser. 72), III. 102, 87; *Liber Niger* in *Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (Soc. of Antiquaries, 1790), 68; *York Plays* edited by L. T. Smith, xxxiv.

P. 2. Necessity for class distinctions: *Richard the Redeless* (with *Vision of Piers the Plowman*), edited by W. W. Skeat, I. 608. Cf. Lydgate, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, edited by F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Soc. Extra Ser. 77), 310–1.

P. 3. Complaints of Lords against Villeins: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 21, 212, 296, 448.

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P. 5. Wealth and importance of the middle classes: "the citizens of London, rich from their trade, are enabled to live in state, and by whom the other parts of England are generally governed." . . . Froissart, *Chronicles*, translated by Thomas Johnes (1803), IV. 638; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 16/624, 26/427, 67/333; Fox Bourne, *English Merchants*, 104.

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Hospitality of a London citizen: Stow, *Survey of London*, edited by C. L. Kingsford, I. 106.

P. 6. Career of Judge Paston: *Paston Letters*, I. pp. 28–9.

P. 7. Power of the moneyed classes in Coventry: Harris, D. M., *Life in an Old English Town*, 259. Riots in Coventry: *Ibid.*, 107, 111, 112, 127.

P. 8. Impressment of Labour: Campbell, *op. cit.*, II. 433, 448, 300, 517; Hardy, *Syllabus to Rymer's Fœdera*, II. 650; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 *H.* VI. Pt. I. m. 18d.

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P. 9. Funeral of Lady Howard: *Accounts and Memoranda of Sir John Howard*, edited T. H. Turner (hereafter quoted as *Howard Household Books* I.), 582–3. *Paston Letters*, IV. 212–3.

P. 10. Desire of the Duke of Suffolk to keep up his dignity: *Ancient Correspondence* (in the Public Record Office), vol. 46, Letter 85.

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P. 11. Etiquette in the Court of Henry VII: *Henry VII's Articles*, *loc. cit.*

Edward IV's household: *Liber Niger*, *loc. cit.*

P. 13. Retinues of Margaret of Anjou and Prince Edward: Ramsay, *op. cit.*, II. 178.

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P. 15. Siege of Caister Castle: *Paston Letters*, V. 45–6.

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P. 16. Act against maintenance of misdoers by lords of the Council: *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 344.

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CHAPTER III

P. 18. Towns founded by Edward I: Cunningham, W., *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1896), I. 215, 264.

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P. 20. Regulations forbidding unmarried women to take houses: *Ibid.*, II. 545, 568.

Judicial powers of towns: *Records of the Borough*

of Nottingham, edited Stevenson, W. H., II. 195, 203. In the *Colchester Oath Book* (also called the *Red Parchment Book*) there is a long list of the matters as to which juries at the three Law Hundreds were to inquire and present; some were trivial misdemeanours such as neglecting to scour the ditches, listening under " mennys wyndowes, be night or be day to bere awey tales or discovere their counsell, to make debate or discencion among ther neighbours." Others were serious crimes like receiving thieves and outlaws, and clipping money, pp. 2–4 and also p. 221 and seq. (date about 1375). At Fordwich, the Mayor and Jurats possessed a practically unlimited jurisdiction in criminal as well as in civil cases. *Custumale Villae de Fordevico*, edited Woodruff, C. E., 57. The Mayor of Rochester exercised an extensive Admiralty jurisdiction over the waters of the Medway, extending from a point some miles above the town to Sheerness at the mouth of the river. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Report, Introd. ix. See also *Ibid.*, 12th Report, App. Pt. ix. p. 403 for the powers of Gloucester, and Boys, *Sandwich*, 440, 457, 462, and *Leicester Records*, II. xli. for the courts in those towns.

Jealousy of towns regarding their jurisdiction: *Ibid.*, II. xlii.; *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 20–1, 194; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 17/213, 26/102–5.

P. 21. Leniency of London custom regarding " the widow's chamber " and wills: Sharpe, R. R., *Cal. of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London*, I. xl.–xli. *Borough Customs*, II. 195.

Brutality of some civic punishments: at Sandwich, Dover, Rye, and Hastings, *Custumale Villae de Fordevico*, 231; and Boys, *Sandwich*, 465; at Romney, *Borough Customs*, I. 74.

P. 22. Punishments for cheating and perjury: Riley, H. T., *Memorials of London*, 408, 486, 318–9, 319, 445–6.

A beggar woman put in the pillory called the " theme," for women ordained, for stealing a child to go begging with her, *Ibid.*, 368. Similar punishment for a scold, *Ibid.*, 385; *Records of Hereford in the Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. XXVII. 486. Cf. *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 59.

Dignity of the Mayor of London: Gregory, W., *Historical Collections of a London Citizen* (edited J. Gairdner, Camden Soc. N.S., No. 18), 222.

P. 23. Punishment for slandering the Mayor: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 227/29.

The Mayor at Church: Stow, *Survey of London* (1754), I. 428.

Payment of the Mayor of Bristol: Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, 81–2.

P. 24. Penalty for refusing office or scheming to avoid it: Riley, *op. cit.*, 601–2, 637; *Leicester Records*, II. lxviii.

The share of citizens in keeping the peace: strangers passing by a city at night to be arrested, "and if they will not obey the arrest, they shall levy hue and cry upon them, and such as keep the watch shall follow with hue and cry upon them with all the town and the towns near." . . . "And further it is commanded that every man have in his house harness for to keep the peace after the ancient assize." *Statute of Winchester*, 13 *Edward I* translated in Stubbs, *op. cit.*, 474. Every person of the peace shall come in aid of the officers of the City if need be, to arrest felons and other misdoers. Riley, *op. cit.*, 272; *Norwich Records*, II. 95; cf. *Records of Hereford*, *loc. cit.*, p. 468.

Fortifications of Coventry: *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 136.

The crafts ordered to keep the butts in good repair: *Ibid.*, II. 338. Butts granted to the Corporation: Boys, *Sandwich*, 671.

Duties of the citizens in time of war: *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. XXVII. 487. Boys, *Sandwich*, 675.

P. 25. Efficiency of citizen soldiers: Ricart, *op. cit.*, 49; Freeman, E. A., *Exeter* (Historic Towns), 95–6.

Privileges of citizens: Charter to London, *loc. cit.*, 108; Boys, *Sandwich*, 520, 521; Letters written by the Mayor of London on behalf of citizens to the authorities at Bristol, Colchester, Gloucester, Bruges, Ghent, Florence, and many other places are still extant. *Calendar of the Letters of the Mayor and Corporation of London*, edited R. R. Sharpe, 3–4, 14, 108, 10, 11, 23.

P. 26. For treatment of aliens, see Chapter IX below.

Subjection of the Gilds: Harris, M. D., *Life in an Old English Town*, 262; *English Gilds*, edited Smith, L. T.,

284; *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 75, 81, 93, 110; 15 *Henry VI*, c. 6.

P. 27. Struggle between the Tailors and the Corporation of Exeter: *English Gilds*, 308–9.

Celebrations of Corpus Christi Day in a London parish: Littlehales, H., *The Medieval Records of a London City Church* (St. Mary-at-Hill), 81, 100, 148, 186, 198, 212.

P. 28. Entertainment of Royal guests by towns: Fabyan, R., *The New Chronicle of England*, 603 and seq. *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 287.

P. 29. Attitude of Coventry towards the Yorkists and Lancastrians: Harris, M. D., *op. cit.*, 147, 194.

Adornment of Churches: there are a great many payments in the churchwardens' accounts for this purpose; St. Mary-at-Hill spent a great deal on its rood-screen, amongst the items are: "to the karvare for makyng of iij dyadems, and of oon of the Evangelystes, and for mendyng the Roode, the Crosse, þe Mary and Iohn, þe Crown of thorn, . . . for payntyng and gyldyng of the Roode, the Crosse, Mary and Iohn, the iiij Evangelistes and iij dyadems."

On another occasion a member of the congregation, Maistres Agnes Breten "did do gilte and paynte the Tabernacle of owr Lady" in the choir, which cost £27. Littlehales, *op. cit.*, 224–5, 142. Cf. Jessopp, A., *Parish Life in England before the Great Pillage*, 24–5; Capes, W. W., *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 374.

P. 30. Municipal buildings of the fifteenth century: Guildhall, London, Fabyan, *op. cit.*, 576; Guildhall, York, St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, Rickman, T., *Gothic Architecture* (1881), 304, 295; town-hall at Lynn Regis, Guildhall, Norwich, and Exeter. Turner, T. H., and Parker, J. H., *Domestic Architecture of England, Fifteenth Century*, 285, 288, 354; Gildhall, Bury St. Edmunds, *Hist. MSS. Comm., MSS. of the Corporation of Bury St. Edmunds*, 121; New Hall in process at Nottingham, 1479–80. *Nottingham Records*, Vol. II., xvii.

Market Crosses set up at Winchester and Marlborough: Green, A. S., *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, I. 18; at Leighton Buszard and Malmesbury, Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, 279, 327; New Cross in the Cheap, London, *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 101/21–22; and at Coventry, *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 68.

CHAPTER IV

P. 31. The social position of women in Greece: Mahaffy, J. P., *Social Life in Greece*, 274.

P. 32. Position of the unmarried woman in England: Pollock, Sir Frederick, and Maitland, F. W., *Hist. of English Law*, II. 437, I. 482–5.

Frequency of marriage: "It is hardly too much to say that the early Medieval law never seems to have contemplated the existence of an unmarried woman of full age . . . her position is never the subject of statute law, as is that of widows; hence, it seems probable that among the higher classes the independent 'femme sole' was, outside the convent, a negligible quantity." Chapman, A. B., and M. Wallis, *The Status of Women*, p. 2.

Coming of age of women: "women, being of the age of fourteen years, . . . shall have livery of their lands and tenements." . . . 39 *Henry VI.* c. 2.

The power of the husband over the wife's property: *Borough Customs*, II. c. and seq., especially cvii. and cxiv.–v. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, II. 403–4, 417–18, 427.

Protection of the wife's rights regarding the sale of her land: *Ibid.*, II. 413n; Boys, *Sandwich*, 524. Cf. *Nottingham Records*, I. 265.

Petitions of women concerning their property: (a) by widows, *Early Chancery Proceed.*, 11/59, 17/342, 20/6, 22/200, 25/37, 26/331, 26/369, 26/390, 26/471, 27/210, 27/196, 28/134, 29/186, 29/491, 31/303, 31/491, 32/101, 33/303, 34/119, 35/66, 36/40, 39/184, 41/177; (b) by unmarried women, *Ibid.*, 7/206, 7/230, 9/159, 9/260, 10/55, 11/68, 12/213, 25/58, 31/44; (c) by married women acting alone, *Ibid.*, 17/221, 19/396, 24/194, 24/203, 41/223; (d) by husbands and wives together, *Ibid.*, 22/47, 22/49, 22/124, 22/132, 22/135, 24/118, 24/171, 26/461, 26/440, 26/472, 38/252.

P. 33. Married women's wills pronounced to be against reason: *Rot. Parl.*, II. 149–50: Bracton said wives ought only to make wills by the consent of their husbands, but that it was right to grant consent for the bequest of a third of the property, Bateson, *Borough Customs*, II. ciii.; Pollock and Maitland, *op.*

cit., II. 428–30. London forbade the devise of lands or tenements by a "femme covert," but Lincoln and Canterbury allowed it. Sharpe, *op. cit.*, I. xli.–ii., 105; *Borough Customs*, II. civ., 111.

Examples of married women's wills: unpublished wills in the Registry at Bury St. Edmunds—Alicia Odeham, Book Ia, f. 37; Christina Rote, II. f. 85; Margareta Bakke, II. f. 182; Anes Berweham, II. f. 251; Emma Doreward, VI. f. 7; Trevelyan Papers, edited J. P. Collier, Pt. I. 18; Somerset Medieval Wills (Somerset Record Soc., vol. XIV), 167.

The wife's right in her husband's goods: Chapman, *op. cit.*, 3.

The wife's dowry: *Borough Customs*, II. 121n, 125, 126, 127; *Letter Book H.* (London), 217. Jane, late the wife of Thomas Husee, claimed a third of his lands in West Harting as her dower. *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 10/80. Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II. 420–28.

Seizure of heiresses: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 5/41, cf. 5/45; *Rot. Parl.*, V. 269–71; cf. IV. 498, V. 15.

P. 34. Women as feoffees to uses: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 16/374, 18/162, 20/15, 22/121, 22/139, 24/119, 24/123, 26/281, 29/71, etc.

Women presenting petitions on behalf of their husbands: *Ibid.*, 11/149, 27/393, 69/286, 69/375.

Women as executrices: *Ibid.*, 8/25, 9/56, 11/343, 12/57, 14/39, 15/90, 16/11, 17/190; *Wills and Inventories from the registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds* (Camden Soc., xlix.), 45, 82; Nichols, J., *Manners and Expences of Antient times in England*, 134; *Nottingham Records*, II. 135; *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 214; *Plumpton Corr.* 34n, 85n. Other cases are quoted in *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, by the present author, they are only a few out of the numbers that exist.

Widows presenting the accounts of their late husbands: Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, II. 163. *Enrolled Custom Accounts*, No. 23, Mich. 10 Henry VII, to February 26.

P. 35. Margaret Paston's business capacity: *Paston Letters*, I. 218, IV. 66, I. 226–7, IV. 179, IV. 164.

P. 35. Ability of Isabel, Lady Berkeley, wife of James, Lord Berkeley (died 3 Edward IV): *Berkeley MSS.*, p. 153.

Women in the silk trade: *Rot. Parl.* V. 325.

Women as beer-brewers and inn-keepers: Hudson, W., *Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich* (Selden Soc. V.), xxxviii., *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 530–2; *Accounts and Memoranda of Sir John Howard* (hereafter quoted as *Howard Household Book I.*), 504, 511; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 66/251, 234/43, 11/222, 61/379, 67/146; *Howard Household Book*, I. 530, 578.

Women in the Cloth Industry: 4 *Edward IV*, c. 1; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 278, V. 150; *Howard Household Books*, I. 551, 330, and II. 164, 293, 327.

Words with feminine suffixes: Langland, *Piers the Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat (1886), baxsteres, p. 18; sywestere, 159; souteresse, 158; dissheres, II. 160: fruytesteres, Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 478. Cf. shepster, a female cutter out of garments, *Letter Book*, I. 283.

Industries followed by women: Candle-makers, *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 555; Margaret Idesale, hurer, *Letter Book*, I. 248; and in 1496 cappers at Coventry were permitted to teach their wives their craft, *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 574; Alice the wigmaker, Agnes the book-binder, Hudson, *op. cit.*, 66; Agneys Chalke, spicer of London, Riley, *op. cit.*, 313. The female poulterers of Nottingham seem to have sold a most miscellaneous assortment of articles—garlic, flour, salt, tallow, candles, butter, and cheese, *Nottingham Records*, I. 271; there were also women amongst the persons accused of forestalling coal, and selling herrings too dear, *Ibid.*, 273, 323. A woman named Margaret Merssh made fetters and manacles for the Constable of the Tower, Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 358. Catherine Thorneton of London was a draper, and another woman was a "fflercher" (? fletcher), *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 67/351, 107/27.

Purchases of cattle, etc., from women: *Add. MSS.*, 34, 213, f. 22; *Ibid.*, 33, 986, f. 135; *Howard Household Books*, I. 282, 313, 296; Riley, *op. cit.*, 643.

P. 36. Payment to Hawesia le Mattewife: *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, p. 30.

Women servants: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 28/179, 66/264, 28/519.

P. 36. Women as laundresses: *Ibid.*, 76/65; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe*, etc., ed. Bishop Hobhouse, 183; the labours of women in "list of subjects" in *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, vol. III. (Surtees Soc., vol. xcix, etc.)

Women in agriculture: *Rot. Parl.*, V. 112; 11 *Henry VII*, c. 22. Miss Putnam has noticed that in 1349, women were employed in most kinds of agricultural labour, *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers*, 80.

Women doing unskilled work: labours of women in the *Account Rolls of Durham* as above; Lapsley, *Account Roll of a fifteenth century Iron Master* in *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. XIV., 511.

Women as embroiderers: Wylie, J. H., *History of England under Henry IV*, II. 467. See also Mr. Wylie's opinion of women's wages, *Ibid.*, and compare the wages of men and women in agriculture as given in the *Rolls of Parliament* and the Statute quoted above.

Margery Russell of Coventry: *Ancient Petitions*, 306/15259; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 6/120; Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 573.

P. 37. Women in Gilds: *English Gilds*, xxx., civ., 112–3, 160, 162, 450, 453–460; there were women in the gilds merchant at Andover, Barnstaple, Coventry, Ipswich, Preston, Shrewsbury, and Totnes. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, vol. II. 4–8, 14, 49–50, 125, 197, 212, 240. Women belonged to a fraternity of bakers of London founded in the reign of Henry VII (Campbell, *op. cit.*, 515), to the Yeomen Tailors, and the Drapers of the same city. Riley, *op. cit.*, 653; Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London*, 200. There were also women cordwainers and weavers at Beverley, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1900), 91, 94. For women as barber-surgeons, see Young, S., *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, 260, 38, and *Letter Book H.*, 352. Cf. Power, D'Arcy, *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery*, 18, 19.

Restrictions on the employment of women: *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 127; *English Gilds*, 180; *Lambert Gild Life*, 206.

Rights and responsibilities of women traders: *Borough Customs*, I. 227, 228; *English Gilds*, 382.

Petitions against married women as sole merchants:

Early Chanc. Proceed., 64/607, 64/883, 110/125, 201/32, but in all these cases the women said the debts had been incurred by their husbands. John de Westhorp, carpenter, of Nottingham, declared in the presence of the Mayor and bailiffs that he would not be responsible for the debts of his wife, *Nottingham Records*, I. 239 (date 1386).

Women burgesses: Sharpe, R. R., *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London*, II. 381, 520, 590, 602, 604; *Letter Book*, I. 221; *Cal. of the Letters of the Mayors . . . of London*, 18, 19; *Nottingham Records*, II. 275; Hudson, *Leet Jurisdiction . . . Norwich*, 49; *Colchester Oath Book*, 61, 62, 66; at Hereford a foreigner marrying the daughter or widow of a citizen, could buy and sell freely "by virtue of her freedom," *Journal of the British Archæological Asscoā*, vol. XXVII, p. 471; at Great Grimsby widows of burghers enfranchised the men they afterwards married. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1895), 272–3. Cf. Woodruff, C. E., *Hist. of Fordwich*, 57.

Women as churchwardens: *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe*, etc., xiv., 120; Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, 106.

P. 38. Women in charge of state prisoners: the Duchess of Suffolk was Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, where the Duke of Exeter was confined. *Proceed. Privy Council*, VI. 245. Cf. *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 31/446.

Women collecting loans for the King: *Proceed. Privy Council*, I. 343. *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 123.

Cecily, Duchess of Warwick, Sheriff. Chapman, *op. cit.*, 19.

Widow of the Duke of Norfolk, Countess Marshall: *G.E.C. Peerage.*

Indentures of knights of the shire with women's seals attached to them: Chapman, *op. cit.*, 17, 8.

Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, . . . no place in Parliament: *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 270.

P. 39. Protestations of the devout lover: *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*. Translated by Sir Richard Ros in Chaucer, *Works*, vol. VII. (Supplement), 306–7. Cf. *The Complaint of the Black Knight; Ibid.*, 260–2; *Troilus and Criseyde; Ibid.*, vol. II. 248.

P. 39. The evils of marriage in the *Roman de la Rose. The Romance of the Rose,* Englished by F. S. Ellis, Chaps. L.–LII. There is a very spirited picture of the quarrel in a beautiful manuscript of the *Rom de la Rose* (*Harl.* 4425) in the British Museum, f. 79.

P. 40. Chaucer's apologies to women: *Works,* vol. III., 88 and seq.

P. 41. Constance in the *Tale of the Man of Law: Ibid.,* IV. 135.

Character of Griselda: *Ibid.,* 402.

Lydgate's women: *The Temple of Glas* (E.E.T.S. Extra Ser. lx.), 10, 11, 12, 32, 37, 48; *The Flour of Courtesye* in Chaucer, *Works,* VII. 270.

P. 42. The Lady in the *Confessio Amantis: The English Works of John Gower,* ed. G. C. Macaulay, vol. I., xv.–xvi., 131–2, 333, II. 17, 18, 76, 147.

Poem in praise of women: *Songs and Carols of the Fifteenth Century* (Warton Club, 1856), ed. T. Wright, 11–12; cf. Wright's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ,* p. 275; and also p. 248 for a less favourable view of women.

P. 43. Works by women: *The Nut-Brown Maid* in *Skeat's Specimens of English Literature. The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies* in Chaucer, *Works,* VII. Works by Juliana of Norwich and Juliana Berners. *Cambridge History of English Literature,* II. 300, 318.

P. 45. Lady carried off by force from King Arthur's hall: Malory, *The History of King Arthur,* ed. T. Wright, I. 98.

CHAPTER V

P. 47. Political powers of the Church: Stubbs, *op. cit.,* III. 378.

Judicial powers of the Church: *Ibid.;* Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Eng. Law,* I. 124–131, II. 332–3; *Register of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter,* ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 292, 327, 334, 369; *Register of Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter,* 631, 705; this register contains cases of the Church granting probate of wills, pp. 705, 707, and administering the effects of intestates, pp. 696, 712.

P. 48. Visitations: *A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Totnes in* 1342, ed. G. G. Coulton. *English Hist. Review*, Jan., 1911; *Register of John de Drokenford, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, edited Bishop Hobhouse, xxviii., xxix.; *Reg. Grandisson of Exeter*, Part III., xvii.

Judicial proceedings of . . . Convent of Durham (Surtees Soc., vol. XXI.): Cases quoted pp. 30, 32; also case of defamation of character, 27.

Efforts of the Church to defend its judicial powers: *Reg. of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, ed. T. S. Holmes, 686; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 26.

Attempts of boroughs to obtain probate of the wills of burgesses: *Borough Customs*, II. cxxxviii. and seq.

Petitions to the Chancellor concerning tithes: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 4/73, 11/395, 25/201, 28/409.

Petitions regarding breaches of faith by feoffees to uses who refuse to restore land to its rightful owner are innumerable: *Ibid.*, 38/230, 38/263, 38/292, 39/14, 39/36, 39/132, 39/150, 40/47, 40/220, 40/240, 40/255, 40/260, 40/270, 41/10, 41/31, etc. Broken promises: 22/8; Laurence Wastell and others were taken prisoners on the sea, their captor demanded a ransom, and he remained in pledge for them all, while they went to raise the money, but they never returned with it, 12*s.* 8*d.* Petitions complaining of the forgery and non-fulfilment of wills: 9/119 and 120, 9/138, 9/285, 9/296, 9/143, 11/50, 14/2, 16/713. Divorce proceedings: 6/318; retention of an annuity promised to a wife by a husband who had deserted her: 19/418. Another wife says that her husband spent all her money, and then wished to divorce her; but as he had no pretext, he caused her to be sued for debt by various of his adherents, and so got rid of her in prison: 191/2.

P. 49. Petition against the vicar of St. Dunstan's: *Ibid.*, 11/247.

Complaints of extortion of spiritual officials: *Rot. Parl.* II. 230, 305, 376, III. 43, 67, IV. 8; the *Plowmans Tale*, Chaucer, *Works*, VII. 168.

Penance imposed by the Church: *William of Wykeham's Register*, ed. T. F. Kirby, II. 454–5.

P. 50. Misdeeds of the "somnour": Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 19–20.

P. 50. Evils of the eccles. jurisdiction, *Plowmans Tale*, *Ibid.*, VII. 158, 157, 168. At Norwich the impleading of citizens in the Courts Christian in matters which did not touch marriage or wills was frequent. It seldom happened that a jury failed to present some offenders of this sort. The Rolls of 1375 and 1391 show that there were persons who made a profit out of procuring cases for the ecclesiastical courts. *Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich* (Selden Soc., vol. V.), xxxvii. 71.

Wyclif's denunciations of "sin-rents," etc.: *English Works*, ed. F. D. Matthew (E.E.T.S.), 72, 74, 80–1; cf. *Rot. Parl.*, II. 313.

P. 51. Sanctuary and its abuse: Cox in *V.C.H., Hampshire*, II. 143; Stow, *op. cit.*, I. 607 (edition 1754); cf. *Rot. Parl.*, III. 504.

Ordinations in the Middle Ages: *Reg. of Bishop Brantyngham*, 773–81; *William of Wykeham's Reg.*, ix.

Orders of Clergy: Bishop Brantyngham's register shows that persons were ordained (1) to the first tonsure, (2) accoliti, (3) subdiaconi, (4) diaconi, and (5) presbiteri, pp. 866, 868–9.

Chaplains: Stubbs, *op. cit.*, III. 379.

Oratories in manor houses: *Reg. of Bishop Brantyngham*, xxxvii.

Manumission before ordination: *Ibid.*, 866; *Reg. of Bishop Bowett*, 39.

P. 52. Classes in the Church: Stubbs, *op. cit.*, III. 380–2; "Sir Robert Littester, chaplain, . . . domestic servant to Sir William Plumpton." *Plumpton Corr.*, lxxiv.

Wealth of the Church: Oman, C., *Hist. of England from* 1377–1485, p. 221; *Exchcq. K.R.* $\frac{8}{24}$.

P. 53. Results of the appropriation of livings: the convent and prior of Spalding allowed to appropriate the church of Gibbetey (Sibbesey) value seventy-three marks, and a pension of thirteen marks; thirty marks being reserved for the vicar. *Cal. Papal Registers*, I. (*Petitions*), p. 213 (date 1357). Cf. Jessop, *op. cit.*, 101–2, and Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, 164.

Income of the parish priest: *Register of Bishop Stafford of Exeter*, 351–2; *Reg. of Bishop Bowett of Bath and Wells*, 46–7. These two passages also give information as to the

calls upon the priest's income, and the subject of appropriation. Cf. *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 12/179, 17/348; *Camden Miscellany* (1875), p. 30 and note.

Church profits at King's Swinford: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 12/250.

Value of Battersea Church: *Reg. of W. of Wykeham*, 377.

Value of the Churches at Bristol: *Lay Subsidies*, $\frac{2}{27}\frac{3}{7}$.

Calls on the incomes of the clergy: see above and also *Borough Customs*, II. 213; Capes, *op. cit.*, 264. *Reg. of W. of Wykeham*, II. 425; Jessop, *op. cit.*, 103–4.

Mortuaries: Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II. 338; *Borough Customs*, II. 211; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 3/107.

P. 54. The enforcement of the duties of church-going and confession: *Reg. of W. of Wykeham*, II. 388–9; *Reg. of John de Drokenford, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, xxviii.; *Borough Customs*, II cxlii.

P. 55. Secular occupations of the Clergy: *Rot. Parl.*, II. 304; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 9/265, 52/172, 60/2.

Clergy and monks as collectors of taxes: *Bishop Bowett's Register*, 51; *Bishop Stafford's Reg.*, 331; *W. of Wykeham's Reg.*, II. 471, 461.

Non-residence of the clergy: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 163, 645; *Bishop Brantyngham's Reg.*, 660, 703, 704, 707, 708, 709, 711, 712; Licences to J. Tregrenewyll are almost continuous from 1397–8 to 1399, and from 1407–8 to 1418, *Bishop Stafford's Reg.*, 295; *Bishop Bowett's Reg.*, 15, 25, 34; *W. of Wykeham's Reg.*, II. 431, 482.

P. 56. Pluralists at Market Harborough: *Market Harborough Parish Records*, ed. Stocks, J. E., and Bragg, W. B., 75, 43, 60n, 77, 78, 101. I am indebted to Miss Garbett for my knowledge of these cases. Another good example of the extent to which the system was developed may be seen in the case of Philip de Bello Campo, a boy in his fourteenth year. *Cal. Papal Reg.*, I. 239 (*Petitions*). Charges against clerics in the *Early Chanc. Proceedings*: (*a*) Forgery: 9/74, 9/285, 12/179. (*b*) Seizure of goods: 7/308, 7/261, 16/51, 17/205. Application for a special commission to arrest Gilbert Bilton, late vicar of Wiggonhall, and others on whom it is not safe to serve an

ordinary writ, by the present vicar of the church, whose "kye" (mortuaries) they have seized and whom they threaten to kill. 31/89. Avery Masse, priest, imprisoned for trying to borrow money on a bad silver spoon, but pleads innocence of its badness. 67/189. Imprisonment of Robert Gurnowe, parson of Slynvold, as accessory to a theft by a black friar. 203/40. (*c*) Assault: 6/307, 12/53, 12/154, 16/52. (*d*) Withholding money entrusted to them for others: 6/262, 7/130, 12/141. (*e*) Refusal to re-enfeoff owner or to hand the property on to the heir: 10/105, 10/173, 10/213, 11/476, 11/492, 12/3, 16/290, 22/44, 26/21. 27/50, 33/132. See also *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 106n.

P. 56. Misdeeds of J. Claypole and of William Roddok: *Ibid.*, 15/30, 28/448.

Crimes and misdemeanours of the clergy: *Leet Jurisdiction, Norwich*, 76; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 13th Report, App, Part IV. (Hereford), 299, 300; *Ibid.* (1900, Beverley), 131; *Records of Nottingham*, I. 157–9, 241–3; Penances imposed by Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral on clergy: *Collections for Hist. of Stafford*, compiled by C. J. Cox, VI. Part II. 89; *William of Wykeham's Reg.*, II. 429; *Reg. of Bishop Stafford of Exeter*, 250, 323–4, 333, 365; Pardons in *Patent Rolls*: 12 *Henry IV.* m. April 6; 27, 1440, m. 11.

P. 57. Chaucer's "povre Persoun," and Plowman: *Works*, IV. 15–6.

P. 58. Benefit of Clergy: *Reg. of Bishop Bowett*, 30, 23.

Purgation: *W. of Wykeham's Reg.*, II. 5; its abuse: *Rot. Parl.*, V. 106, 151.

P. 59. Pecock, *Repressor*, I. 3, 4.

Complaints made by clergy to the Chancellor: (*a*) regarding the unfairness of juries, *Early Chanc. Proceedings*, 60/155, 67/154; (*b*) regarding assaults and injuries inflicted upon them; *Ibid.*, 6/55, 6/121, 16/100, 6/274, 7/10, 17/290, 39/175, 49/50, 61/364, 64/169, 64/178, 216/77.

Excommunication of certain persons unknown who slew Richard Reygate, priest. *William of Wykeham's Register*, II. 444. Cf. II. 465–6, 471, 484.

P. 60. Quarrels of parsons and parishioners: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 44/213, 61/435.

Lollardy and its influence on religious thought:

Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I. 179, 436–7; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 350; cf. Fisher, *Hist. of England*, 1485–1509, 137–9.

CHAPTER VI

P. 62. The number of Convents in England is taken from the estimate by Abbot Gasquet, at the time of the suppression, e.g. 202 dissolved 1538-40, 243 suppressed 1535-7, and 200 friaries. *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (5th edition), II., 322–3, 23–24 n., 239.

P. 63. Position of the Prior of Durham: *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, ed. J. T. Fowler, vol. III., Introd., iii. and seq.

Obedientaries at St. Swithun's: *Compotus Rolls of the Obedientaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester* (Hampshire Record Soc.), 46, 50, 32, 33, 31, 53, 32, sq., 62, 45n, Introd. 14, 37.

P. 64. Servants in monasteries: Savine, A., *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, 225; Blomfield, *Hist. of Bicester*, Pt. II., 121, cf. Owen and Blakeney, *Shrewsbury*, II. 48. *Compotus Rolls of . . . St. Swithun's*, p. 43.

Monastic Buildings: Jessop, A., *Coming of the Friars*, 132; Hurry, J. B., *Reading Abbey*, 12–3, 22, 23, and plan; cf. Willis, *Architectural Hist. of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, 158. For water supply, see also *Cal. of the Records of Gloucester*, 343, 352–3; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 14th Report, App. Pt. VIII. 17; *Ibid.*, 15th Report, App. Pt. X. 116.

P. 65. The Hall at St. Swithun's: *Consuetudinary of the fourteenth century of the Refectory of the House of St. Swithun*, ed. Dean Kitchin. Introd., 8–9.

Beds in Convents: Aungier, *Hist. of Syon Monastery*, 24, 385; *The charters of endowment, inventories, and account rolls of the Priory of Finchale*, ed. J. Raine, clv.; *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, II. 264.

P. 66. Washing: Aungier, *op. cit.*, 247, 87; *Compotus Rolls . . . of St. Swithun's Priory*, ed. Dean Kitchin, Introd., 87; *Durham Account Rolls*, vol. I. 173, 174, vol. II. 513.

P. 67. Monastic fare: *St. Swithun's Compotus Rolls*, 60, 309; *St. Swithun's Consuetudinary*, 34, 26, 27, 29; *Hist. of*

Bicester, II. 202; *Durham Account Rolls*, vol. III., p. xxxiv., xlv., I. 124, 394, 602.

P. 67. The price of oysters, 1502: *Stafford Household Book*, *Archæologia*, vol. XXV., p. 327.

P. 68. Blood-letting, *Durham Account Rolls*, Introd. xlix. *St. Swithun's Consuet.*, 43.

Diet on Good Friday: *Compotus Rolls*, 324. For the price of herrings I have taken an average of those given by Prof. Thorold Rogers for ten years, 1488–97; I did not take the year 1493 alone, because there was only one entry for it, and that seemed phenomenal. I have reckoned a cade as five hundred. *Agric. and Prices*, III. 318–9.

P. 69. Beverages: *Ministers' Accounts*, $\frac{1261}{4}$; *St. Swithun's Compotus Rolls*, Introd., 59, 60; *Consuetudinary*, 39.

Drinking after Compline forbidden: *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, II. 104, 117; on one occasion Bishop Redman found that many of the canons had been unwell, and he traced it to over-drinking and sitting up at night, II. 127; cf. II. 31. He did, however, sometimes allow drinking after compline with the leave of the Superior, II. 11, 119. In 1488 four canons were punished for frequenting taverns, III. 79.

Meals at Syon: Aungier, *op. cit.*, 393.

Signs used at Syon: *Ibid.*, 407, 406.

P. 70. Injunctions of Bishop Redman regarding keeping silence: *Coll. Anglo-Premont.*, II. 54, 55, 57, 86, 100, 104, 112, etc.

Clothes at Syon: Aungier, *op. cit.*, 22–4.

The heating of convents: "Precipimus etiam abbati ut provideat calefactorium conventui, ante horam prandii et post, temporibus necessitatis et frigoris": *Coll. Anglo-Premont.*, II. 5; *St. Swithun's Consuet.*, 36; "in carbonibus marinis . . . pro aula": *Durham Account Rolls*, 129. Aungier, *op. cit.*, 388. *Ministers' Accounts*, $\frac{1261}{4}$ (22 Edward IV).

Allowance for clothing: *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, III. 215.

Complaints about the monks' clothing: Bishop Redman seems to have been much exercised in his mind about the innovations the Premonstratensians introduced into their

dress; more than once he bade the abbot to watch against new fashions, on two or three occasions he condemned the use of wide shoes called "slyppars." *Ibid.*, II. 33, 36, 38, III. 82. At Lavenden, in 1482, he ordered the canons to have their tunics down to their knees in fourteen days: *Ibid.*, III. 36; see also II. 213, 214, III. 28, 117.

P. 71. Extravagance of the Prioress of Easebourne: *Sussex Archæological Collections*, IX., p. 8.

Splendour of Ecclesiastical dress: *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, I. p. xxxiv.

The hour of going to bed: *Ibid.*, III. 144.

Neglect of Matins: *Ibid.*, II. 124, 135, 193, III. 10, 63, 217.

P. 72. Deputies of Obedientaries: *Durham Account Rolls*, III., p. xxi.

Visitors at monasteries: at St. Swithun's relatives of the monks who came from distant parts to visit them might stay three days, *Consuetudinary*, 34. The prior often had guests, but they were not always his personal friends, but sometimes persons whom it was expedient to entertain for the good of the monastery. *Ibid.*, cf. *Durham Account Rolls*, I. 85, 139.

Monastic Libraries: J. W. Clark, *Medieval and Renaissance Libraries*; M. Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery.*

Lack of Learning amongst monks: *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, I., p. xxxv., III. 224.

The Prior of Durham's games: *Durham Account Rolls*, I. 216, 220.

Minstrels, etc., at Durham: *Ibid.*, 127, 552, 556, 560, 565, 582, 592, 599.

"Playerchambre" at Finchale: *The Charters . . . of Finchale*, ccxcv.

Hunting by monks: *Ibid.*, xxiv.; *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, III. 22; cf. II. 98, and III. 181.

Playing games for money forbidden: *Ibid.*, 35, 64, 100, 150.

Recreation recommended: *Ibid.*, III. 64.

Recreation to be arranged at proper times: *Ibid.*, 118.

P. 73. The Claustration of nuns: *Sexti Decretalium D.*

Bonifacii Papæ, VIII. (1584), Lib. iii., Tit. xvi.; Jean Baptiste Thiers in his *Traité de la Clôture des Religieuses*, gives an account of the efforts made to enforce it by decretals, etc. See especially Pt. I., p. 45 and seq., Pt. II. 313.

Rules respecting permission to go out of the cloister: *Register of Stapldon, Bishop of Exeter*, 317; W. Salt, *Archæol. Soc. N.S.*, VIII. 118–9.

P. 74. References to Elstow Abbey here and elsewhere: *Victoria County History, Bedford*, I. 355–6.

Nuncotham Priory: *V.C.H., Lincoln*, II. 151–2.

Nunnery of Easebourne: *Sussex Archæol. Collections*, IX. 15.

Romsey Abbey, *V.C.H., Hants*, II. 129.

P. 75. Accounts of Stamford St. Michael's: *Ministers' Accounts* (P.R.O.), $\frac{1260}{4}$, $\frac{1260}{10}$, $\frac{1260}{18}$.

Male warden: Markyate, *V.C.H., Bedford*, I. 359.

P. 76. Poverty of nunneries: Savine, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

Boarders in nunneries: *John of Gaunt's Register*, III. 231; *Ralph of Shrewsbury's Register*, xlvii.

P. 77. Priory of Stainfield: *V.C.H., Lincoln*, II. 131.

Priory of Heynings: *Ibid.*, 150.

Boarders at Carrow: Rye, W., *Carrow Abbey*, 48–52.

P. 78. Attacks on the Friars: *Jacke Upland* in Wright's *Political Songs*, 16 sq. *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser., No. 30, see especially pp. 3, 5, 12, 13, 18. Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 7–8; cf. *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls Ser., No. 4), vol. I. xlvi.

Pecock's defence of the Franciscans: *Repressor*, II. 557 sq.

P. 79. The Observants: *Monumenta Franciscana*, II. pp. xxii.–v.

CHAPTER VII

P. 81. Edward III's policy regarding the Staple: Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1896), I. 312.

Statutes upholding the Staple: 18 *Henry VI*, c. 15;

27 *H. VI*, c. 2; 12 *Ed. IV*, c. 5; 14 *Ed. IV*, c. 3; cf. *Rot. Parl.*, V. 149, 563.

Aggressions of the Merchant Adventurers: 12 *Henry VII*, c. 6.

Attempts to obtain Free Trade in towns: Law, A., in *Econ. Review*, vol. IV. p. 381. Cf. Picton, *Liverpool*, I. 18.

P. 82. Grants of Freedom from toll to towns: Stubbs, *op. cit.*, 108, 165, 167, 309, 310, 312–3.

Concessions to Gascons by Edward III: *Rot. Parl.*, II. 287.

Act protecting English industries: *Ibid.*, V. 325, 506, and 33 *H. VI*, c. 5.

Prohibition of the export of sheep: 3 *H. VI*, c. 2.

Navigation Acts: 5 *Ric. II*, st. 1, c. 3; 3 *Ed. IV*, c. 1; 1 *H. VII*, c. 8.

Corn Laws: 15 *H. VI*, c. 2; 3 *Ed. IV*, c. 2.

P. 83. The Policy of Retaliation: 4 *Ed. IV*, c. 5; 7 *H. VII*, c. 7. Atton and Holland, *The King's Customs*, 54.

Henry VII's commercial treaties: Rymer, *Fœdera*, XII. 578–91; Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 720; Rymer, *op. cit.*, XII. 381–7; *Ibid.*, XII. 389–93.

P. 84. Efforts to keep down wages after the Black Death: Putnam, *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers*, especially pp. 20, 71–2, 80–1, 82–6, 186–9, 221.

P. 85. Examples of good results of apprenticeship: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 24/83; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 63.

P. 86. Boy messengers in 1901; *Roy. Comm. on the Poor Laws*, App. vol. XX. p. 5.

P. 87. The dress-making trade in 1906–7: Adler, N., and Tawney, R. H., *Boy and Girl Labour*, 15.

The Capitalist at Coventry: *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 181–2.

Capitalism in the Stannaries: Lewis, G. R., *The Stannaries* (Harvard Econ. Studies), 189.

Fulling-mills: *V.C.H., Gloucester*, II. 157; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 89/69; *Rot. Parl.*, VI. 223; Campbell, *op. cit.*, II. 329–30, 332, 367, 399, 441.

Use of water power: *V.C.H., Glos.*, II. 151; *Records of Norwich*, II. 67; *Account Roll of a Fifteenth Century Iron Master* in *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. XIV. 510.

P. 88. Apprentices forced to swear not to set up in business for themselves at the end of their term: Harris, D., *op. cit.*, 272n.

Restriction of the power of journeymen: Lambert, *Gild Life*, 205.

P. 89. Journeymen tailors of London: Riley, *Memorials*, 609 sq.

Journeymen weavers of Coventry: Harris, D., *op. cit.*, 276–7.

Prohibition of Forestalling: 25 *Ed. III*, iii., c. 3; *Letter Book*, I. (City of London), 35.

Medieval Theory of Prices: Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 461.

P. 90. Medieval opinion of Usury: *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, 60–1, 215–7.

Goods sold at fairs: 3 *H. VII*, c. 9.

Sale of books at fair in the north hundred of Oxford: Rogers, T., *Agric. and Prices*, IV. 155.

P. 91. Abbingdon Cattle fair: Markham, Sir Clements R., *Richard III*, 112.

St. Giles' fair, Winchester: Kitchin, *A charter of Edward III confirming the privileges of St. Giles' Fair, Winchester*, 17–24.

Markets in London: Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), I. 187, 288, 117, 80, 156, 258.

Markets at Norwich: *Records of Norwich*, II. 204, 242.

P. 92. Medieval shops and stalls: Addy, *Evolution of the Eng. House*, 94–5; Stow, *op. cit.*, I. 346, 343; Riley, *Memorials*, 382; *Colchester Oath Book*, 93; *Liber Albus*, xxxii.; Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England, Fifteenth Century*, Pt. I. 36.

Men of the same trade congregating together: Stow, *op. cit.*, I. 79, 338.

P. 93. London Lickpenny: *Dunbar and his Times*, ed. Arber, 113–7.

CHAPTER VIII

P. 95. Enclo ing in the Fifteenth century: 4 *H. VII*, c. 19.

P. 96. Selfish policy of the Gilds: D. Harris, *op. cit.*, 271; *Eng. Gilds*, 315.

Complaints regarding the employment of aliens: *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 128, 159, 177.

Pretended hermit in London: Riley, *Memorials*, 584.

Advice of Piers the Plowman regarding beggars: *Piers the Plowman*, I. 213.

Bernard Shaw on the necessity for good food: Speech reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, May 3, 1910.

P. 97. Treatment of sturdy beggars: 23 *Ed. III*, c. 7; 12 *Ric. II*, c. 7; 11 *H. VII*, c. 2; 19 *H. VII*, c. 12.

Stocks set up in London: Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), II. 176.

Licensed beggars: 12 *Ric. II*, c. 7.

Petition for letters of pardon by John of Burton: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 32/57. The Bishop of Ely granted a licence to beg for two years throughout the diocese to a poor man who had been stripped of his all by robbers. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 12th Report, App. Pt. IX. p. 384.

P. 98. Neglect of almsgiving by the clergy: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 293, IV. 290.

Act ordering a portion of the profits of appropriated livings to be reserved for the poor: 15 *Ric. II*, c. 6; 4 *H. IV*, c. 12.

Duties of the almoner of the Duke of Clarence: *Ordinances of the Roy. Household*, 89–90.

P. 99. Alms given by John of Gaunt: *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 31, 75, 96. Cf. II. 258.

The King's alms: Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 583, 591.

Monastic charity: *Account Rolls of the Obedientaries of . . . St. Benedict at Holme*, ed. Howlett, R., in *Norfolk Antiq. Misc.*, II. 536, 537; *Accounts of the Obedientaries of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. Kirk, R. E. G., lii.–iv.

P. 100. Charitable bequests: *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*,

ed. Furnivall, p. 27; *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, 17; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 562.

P. 101. Alms at the obit of Blanche of Lancaster: *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 271.

St. Swithun's Hospital: *Compotus Rolls*, p. 139.

Help given by Gilds to the poor: *Eng. Gilds*, 150, 157, 161; the Gild Merchant of Coventry, *Ibid.*, 229, 231; the Smiths of Chesterfield, *Ibid.*, 169. The poor to be helped even if the funds fell below ten marks; the Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Cambridge, *Ibid.*, 271; alms given to beggars by the Corpus Christi Gild, Coventry, Harris, D., *op. cit.*, 313.

P. 102. Poor Relief by towns: Leonard, *Early Hist. of Eng. Poor Relief*, 7–8, 9; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th Report, App. VII. 175.

CHAPTER IX

P. 103. Antipathy of the English to foreigners: *Italian Relation*, 23–4; Froissart, *op. cit.*, III. 209.

Attack on the Flemings: *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's Hist. of England* (Camden Soc. 1846), p. 57.

P. 104. Treatment of alien priories: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 457; II. 162; IV. 11, 13, 179.

Feeling against alien clergy: *Ibid.*, II. 173; III. 46, 117, 138, 162, 222.

P. 105. Edward III's encouragement of alien artisans: *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 26 *Ed. III*, Pt. I. m. 21. Cf. *Ibid.*, 5 *Ed. III*, Pt. II. m. 25; and 7 *Ed. III*, Pt. I. m. 27.

Severe enactment against aliens: 1 *Ric. III*, c. 9.

Outburst of feeling against aliens, 1406: Wylie, *op. cit.*, II. 427.

Alien artisans in England: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 45/30, 67/165, 90/23; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 600, IV. 162, VI. 185; Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 673, 683; Campbell, *op. cit.*, II. 134; Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, 120; *Cal. French Rolls* in *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, vol. XLVIII. 1439–40, m. 27.

P. 106. Hostility of gilds to aliens: Lambert, *Gild Life*, 206; Fox, *Merchant Taylors of Bristol*, 41; *Rot. Parl.*, V. 567.

P. 106. Attack on Oliver Bothin: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 45/55.

Unpopularity of alien brokers: *Rot. Parl.*, II. 332, IV. 193, V. 561.

P. 107. Alien merchants in England: the allusions to alien merchants in England are numerous in the French Rolls, for some references to them, see *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 35–6 and 38. Restrictions upon them: 5 *H. IV*, c. 9, 18 *H. VI*, c. 4, 17 *Ed. IV*, c. 1, 3 *H. VII*, c. 9; *Letter Book H.* (City of London), 289; *Ibid.*, G. 303; Riley, *Memorials*, 272.

Complaints by aliens of the unfairness of juries: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 32/439, 64/995, 66/374.

P. 108. Alien merchants forced to lend money to the King: *Proc. Privy Council*, II. 165–6.

Favour shown to the Genoese: Giuseppi, M. S., in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S., vol. IX. p. 90.

Goods brought by the Venetians and Florentines: *Libelle of English Polyce* in Wright's *Political Songs*, II. 172.

Position of the Hansards in London: Zimmern, H., *Hansa Towns*, Chap. VII.

P. 109. Capture of a Scotchman in England: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 24/193.

Capture of James (I) of Scotland: Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I. 97.

P. 110. Treatment of the Irish in England: *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 13, 190; *Little Red Book of Bristol*, I. 86; II., 163, 123; 1 *H. VI.* c. 3; *Rot. Parl.*, VI. 335.

P. 111. Friction between the English and Welsh: *Ibid.*, III. 295, 308, 663, V. 53; *Coroners' Rolls*, 149.

CHAPTER X

P. 113. Marriage under Canon Law: Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, II. 367–8.

Commercial view of marriage: *Plumpton Corr.*, 137.

P. 114. Consent of parents not necessary for the marriage of Infants: Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II. 389.

The age limit for marriage: *Ibid.*, 390.

P. 114. Disregard of the age limit: *Ibid.*, 391; *Plumpton Corr.*, lxx.–ii.; *Berkeley MSS.*, ed. Fosbroke, T. D., 143. In 1344 the Earl of Arundel and his wife petitioned the Pope for a divorce on the ground that "non voluntarie, nec mutuo consensu, set metu propinquorum, sponsalia insimul contraxerunt." Their respective ages at the time were seven and eight. *Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter*, II. 988.

Rights of Feudal lords to the marriage of heirs: Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, I. 319.

P. 115. The sale of marriages of heirs and heiresses: *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 227, 257. Grant to a widow of the lands of her late husband and the wardship and marriage of the heir on payment of forty marks. *Ibid.*, I. 177.

Compensation for the loss of a marriage: *Reg. of William of Wykeham*, II. 537–8.

Marriage of a ward as a devisable asset: *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 63.

Sale of the marriage of a son: *Paston Letters*, II. 288.

Age for marriage amongst the middle classes: *Ibid.*, I. Introd. 156, IV. 83. The Celys were certainly of an age to choose their own wives when they were thinking of marriage. *Cely Papers*, pp. 59, 103.

P. 116. Women's mercenary views of marriage: *Cely Papers*, 153; *Ancient Corr.* (in Public Record Office), vol. XLVI., Letter 105.

The Church's view of marriage: Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II. 385.

Views of the Wife of Bath on marriage: Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 321–3.

P. 117. Bequests for dowries: *Paston Letters*, VI. 198, 200, 202–4, 206–7; *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, 15, 19, 52; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 18/62. A man named Skynner, of Hartfield, Sussex, left directions that his land was to be sold and one-third of the proceeds devoted to providing "for the mariages of pore maydenys in the seid parisshe"; the poor maidens, however, did not obtain their share, so they petitioned the Chancellor for help. *Ibid.*, 32/326, 41/309–11.

Indentures of marriage: *Ibid.*, 40/144; *Plumpton Corr.*, lxx.–ii.

P. 118. Breach of promise to perform marriage: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 9/396, 27/406, 20/4. Settlements not carried out: *Ibid.*, 16/334, 9/448, 16/343, 16/386, 28/52.

Clandestine marriages: Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II. 372–3, 368; Mandate to the Bishop of Hereford to dispense John Forsches and Agnes Luff of his diocese to remain in, and consummate the marriage which they formerly clandestinely contracted *per verba legitime de presenti* in ignorance that they were related in the third degree of kindred. *Cal. Papal Reg.* (*Letters*), vol. VII. 567. The demand of the temporal law for the guarantee of publicity, Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, 374.

Recognition of marriage by trothplight: *Borough Customs*, II. 135–6.

P. 119. Divorce, and impediments to marriage: *Pollock and Maitland, op. cit.*, II. 392–3, 388–9, 385–6.

P. 120. Illustrations of the working of the marriage laws: *Lichfield Epis. Reg.* in *W. Salt Arch. Soc.* N.S., vol. VIII. 116; *Id.* 150; *Cal. of Papal Reg.* (*Letters*), vol. III. 624, VI. 177.

Cost of a dispensation: *Id.* VI. 95.

Petition of Edward the Black Prince, *Id.* I. (*Petitions*), 376.

P. 121. The insecurity of Medieval marriages: Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II. 369.

Unscrupulous spouses: *Id.* II. 393n. Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 713.

Cruelty by a husband: *Eccles. Proceed. from the Courts of Durham Convent* (Surtees Soc., vol. XXI), 37.

P. 122. Evil wishes by a wife: *Id.* 34–5.

Margaret Paston as a wife: *Paston Letters*, II. 55–6, 282, 228, 49.

P. 123. John Paston as a husband: *Id.* III. 223.

Margery Cely's token: *Ancient Corr.*, vol. LIII., Letter 133.

Affection of Elizabeth Stonor for her husband: *Id.*, vol. XLVI., Letters 115, 120; her masterful character: Letter 138.

P. 124. Complaints of wives and warning against matrimony: *Towneley Plays*, ed. A. W. Pollard (*The Flight into Egypt*), 164 (*Shepherds' Play*, II.), 118, 119, 124; *Chester Plays*, ed. H. Deimling (*Adoration of the Shepherds*), 136.

P. 124. The quarrel of Noah and his wife: *Towneley Plays* (*Noah and the Ark*), 28 sq., *York Plays* (ed. L. Toulmin Smith), 48 sq.

Harmonious relations of husbands and wives: *Digby Mysteries*, 90–1, 98, 119; *York Plays*, 271–2.

P. 125. Felicity of Arveragus: Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 506.

The Canterbury Pilgrims and their wives: *Id.*, IV. 426, 460.

P. 126. Punishment of wives by husbands: *Book of La Tour-Landry*, 81, 26–7, 94–5.

P. 127. Widows easily comforted: Hoccleve, *Works* (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, 61), pp. 220–1.

Severity in training children: *Manners and Meals*, 46; *Proceed. Privy Council*, III. 143, IV. 134–5.

Mothers and daughters in the Paston family: *Paston Letters*, II. 110, V. 16, 39.

P. 128. Boarding out children: "the want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; . . . at the age of seven or nine, . . . they put them out to hard service in the houses of other people." *Italian Relation*, 24. Cf. *Paston Letters*, II. 237, III. 123; *Plumpton Corr.*, xxxix.

P. 129. Troubles caused by re-marriage: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 9/431, 10/299.

Humility of children towards parents: *Paston Letters*, IV. 185.

Lack of filial affection: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 10/313, 16/262; *Berkeley MSS.*, 154; *Bury Wills*, 52.

P. 131. Care of the orphans of townspeople: *Borough Customs*, II. 149, 155, cxxxi.–cxxxiii., 153; *Custumale Villae de Fordevico*, 223–4. Cf. Boys, *Sandwich*, 496, 514–7; *Letter Book*, I. (London), 209, 212, 221; *Little Red Book of Bristol*, I. 181–5.

Account rendered by a guardian: Riley, *Memorials*, 379.

P. 132. Legal aid for widows and orphans: *Borough Customs*, II. 16.

Parental affection: *Digby Plays*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 14; *Towneley Plays*, 176–7; *Chester Plays*, 197–201; *York Plays*, 152–3; *Pearl* rendered into modern English by G. G. Coulton; *Ancient Corr.*, vol. XLVI., Letter 85.

CHAPTER XI

P. 134. Gifts of Food: *Grace Book B, Luard Memorial Series*, xv. 8; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 15th Report, App. Pt. X., 28; *Nottingham Records*, II. 377; Davies, Robert, *Extracts from the municipal records of York*, 3, 7, 39; *Plumpton Corr.*, 87–8.

Present to Margaret of Anjou: *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 300.

The King's herring pies: the King to have six score herrings in twenty-four pies. *Norwich Records*, II. 208.

Grant of food as the reward of loyalty: Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 539. Cf. *Pat. Rolls*, 1399, m. 14, Nov. 12.

P. 135. Entertaining justices: *Id.* II. 72. Cf. *Grace Book B*, 93.

Supper and wine when accord was made between the venerable men and the community of the City of Norwich: *Norwich Records*, II. 59–60. Cf. *Grace Book A*, 170.

Sending out dinners: *Paston Letters*, I. 332.

The recipes on this and the following pages are from *A noble boke off Cookry*, ed. Mrs. A. Napier; *Two Fifteenth-century Cookery Books*, ed. Austin, T. (E.E.T.S. Old Ser. 91), and Warner's *Antiquitates Culinariæ*, a collection of ancient Cookeries which includes the *Forme of Cury*. There is a great deal of similarity in the recipes, and some of them can be found in two or three of the books. Such generalizations as have been made are based upon a study of them all, and of the Howard and Stafford Household Books, and that of Anne, Duchess of Buckingham. The references quoted are not exhaustive, but the receipts are so numerous that it is impossible to do more than give a selection.

The use of Pork: at the Duke of Lancaster's Banquet. Austin, *op. cit.*, 67–8; "A somer sewe" and "Potage for somer sessone." Napier, *op. cit.*, 37–8, 25; cf. 68, 58.

"Cokyntryce": Austin, *op. cit.*, 40.

P. 136. Fish dinner at Bishop Bubwith's funeral: *Ibid.*, 61–2.

P. 137. "Mortrewys de Fleyssh": *Ibid.*, 14. Cf. 19, 31, 70–1; *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, 454.

"Maumenny Ryalle": Austin, *op. cit.*, 22.

P. 138. Cooking of fish: *Id.*, 14, 23, 42, 102, 104, 106.

P. 138. Cooking of game and poultry: Napier, *op. cit.*, 60–7, 93, 107, 115.

"Blaunche mang of flesshe": *Id.* 103.

Vegetables and the way to cook them: *Id.*, 83–5; Warner, R., *op. cit.*, 4, 5, 15, 16, 19–20, 32; "Joutes": Austin, *op. cit.*, 5–6.

"Salat": Warner, *op. cit.*, 16.

P. 139. Sweets: "Mylk rostid," Napier, *op. cit.*, 109; also 104, 107, 108; Austin, *op. cit.*, 50, 51, 43, 36, 52–3; Warner, *op. cit.*, 29.

"Meselade": Austin, *op. cit.*, 43.

Fruits: *Id.*, 27, 28, 29, 30, 94–5; Warner, *op. cit.*, 13, 16, 27, 28; Napier, *op. cit.*, 100, 118, 119, 120, 121; *The Flower and the Leaf*, Chaucer, *Works*, VII. 364; *Norwich Records*, II. 203; *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 300; Fabyan, *op. cit.*, 605.

Payment of John of Gaunt's gardener: *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 61.

P. 140. London gardeners: Riley, *Memorials*, 228–9.

The Bishop of Ely's garden in London: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 12th Report, App. 9, p. 382.

Ornamentation of dishes: Austin, *op. cit.*, 23, 24, 25, 27, 35, 49; Napier, *op. cit.*, 52; Warner, *op. cit.*, xxxviii., 15, 26n, 31, 63.

P. 141. Subtleties: Fabyan, *op. cit.*, 587; Austin, *op. cit.*, 68.

P. 142. The dinner table: *Manners and Meals*, 129–31, 268–9.

Queen Philippa's salt-cellar: *Archæologia*, vol. XXXI. 353.

Trenchers of bread: *Manners and Meals*, 138, 322; Wright, *Domestic Manners*, 160.

Cup with the name of the Three Kings: *Somerset Wills* (*Somerset Record Soc.*, vol. XIX.), p. 335. Some very grand cups and goblets are mentioned in the inventory of Henry V's possessions—a "gobulet d'or," a "coupe de Berill, garniz d'or." *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 217. Cf. *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, xli.; *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, 56, 109–11.

P. 143. "Erthen pottis": Napier, *op. cit.*, 81–2, 95, 107; Austin, *op. cit.*, 7, 9; 1*d.* toll was paid on a carful of "pottys

of erthe" at Colchester in the reign of Richard II. *Colchester Oath Book*, 10. In the *Derby Accounts* one "olla terrea pro vino imponendo" is mentioned, p. 10; cf. "erthen pottis for wyne and ale." *Manners and Meals*, 379. For an early example of an ornamented fictile cup, see *Bury Wills*, 41.

Wines: *Manners and Meals*, 125.

"Ypocras": *Id.*; Warner, *op. cit.*, 93n.

P. 144. Wine and spices: *Digby Plays*, 56, 58, 91; Chaucer, *Works*, II. (*Troilus and Criseyde*), 384, IV. 469; Froissart, *Chronicles*, IV. 510–11.

Ale and wine at breakfast: *Stafford Household Book*, *loc. cit.*, 323, 325. Cf. *Liber Niger*, *loc. cit.*, 22.

"Drinkings": *Stafford Household Book*, *loc. cit.*, 325, 329.

Apples as an antidote to drinking: *Manners and Meals*, 124.

Hospitality of the Bishop of Norwich: *Paston Letters*, II. 265.

Hours of meals: Wright, *Hist. of Domestic Manners*, 425.

"Rere-suppers": *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, 8.

P. 145. Manners at table: *Manners and Meals*, 301–3.

P. 146. The fare of a franklin: *Manners and Meals*, 170–1; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 11.

A Lord Mayor's Feast: *Id.* 379.

Dinners of the Corpus Christi Gild, Coventry: Harris, *op. cit.*, 335–6.

Feast of the Corpus Christi Gild, Bury St. Edmunds: *Suffolk Institute of Archæology*, vol. XII. 10.

The food of reapers, etc.: *V.C.H., Rutland*, 219, quoting *Rutland Documents in Westminster Abbey;* Cullum, Sir J., *Hist. of Hawsted*, 215, 220.

P. 147. The food of the poor as shown by the *Forme of Cury* and the literature of the period: Warner, *op. cit.*, 4; *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, 29; *Piers the Plowman*, 220, 234; Chaucer, *Works*, I. 113, IV. 271.

P. 148. Statistics of Thorold Rogers: *Agric. and Prices*, I. 289–90, 689, 683–4; IV. 757.

P. 150. Condition of artisans in the fifteenth century:

Tooting Bec Manor Court Rolls, 17 *H. VI*; 1440, 1442; *Early Chancery Proceed.*, 15/273, 16/494, 17/169, 27/372, 31/236, 41/203.

Condition of labourers and farmers in the fifteenth century: *Id.*, 26/495, 27/173, 28/280, 30/53, 27/387, 27/337.

Labourers' wills in the registry at Bury St. Edmunds: *Book VI.*, ff. 72, 111.

P. 151. Allowances for board: *Ordinances of the Roy. Household* (Ed. III), 11; *Id.* (*Liber Niger*), 24; Campbell, *op. cit.*, I. 208.

Money given to workmen in lieu of food: in 1444 freemasons and master carpenters were paid 4*d.* and food, or 5½*d.* without food, from Easter to Michaelmas. *Rot. Parl.*, V. 112. But labourers in harvest time had 2*d.* a day. 23 *H. VI.*, c. 12. On one occasion Sir J. Howard paid 10*d.* a week for board, and on another 2*d.* a day. *Howard Household Book*, I. 324, 334, 493. At Coventry in 1420 the rate seems to have been 2*d.* a day for workmen, 1½*d.* for assistants. *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 21. Men working on the King's ships (10–13 Henry VII) received 12½*d.* for food. *Augmentation Office, Misc. Books*, vol. 316, f. 49.

Payment by Thomas Welleys: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 67/38.

CHAPTER XII

P. 155. The follies of fashion: *Richard the Redeless*, 619, 620, 622. Wright, *Political Songs*, I. 274–5.

"Cracowes": Ashdown, E. J., *British Costume during Nineteen Centuries*, 119.

P. 156. The Pope's bull regulating the length of shoes: Gregory, *Historical Collections of a London Citizen*, 238.

The decoration of shoes: Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 95; Fairholt, ed. Dillon, *Costume in England*, II. 65.

P. 157. Ladies hiding their hair: Ashdown, *op. cit.*, 126; *Book of the Knight of La-Tour Landry*, 67.

Richard II's cap: Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, III. 296.

P. 158. Henry V and the poet Occleve: *MS. Roy.* 17 *D. vi.*, f. 40; *Arundel, MS.* 38, f. 37.

P. 158. Margaret Paston's love of scarlet, *Paston Letters*, II. No. 47.

P. 159. Dates of head-dresses: M. Planché gives the dates of head-dresses as follows:—

The hood or chaperon: fourteenth century.
Heart-shaped head-dress: reign of Henry IV.
Horned head-dress: reign of Henry V.
Steeple head-dress: Fifteenth century.
Journal of the Archæological Assoca., V. 70.

Method of wearing the steeple: Ashdown, *op. cit.*, 186–7.

P. 160. Ladies' dress in the reign of Henry VII: Fairholt, *op. cit.*, I. 225.

Men's long hair: Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, 55, 56.

P. 161. Richard III's gowns: *Wardrobe Accounts of Richard III* in *Archæologia*, I. 369.

Costume of the working classes: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Report, App. Part I. Register S of Christ Church, Canterbury, p. 112; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 11, 93; 37 *Ed. III.* c. 14; 3 *Ed. IV*, c. 5; Hoccleve, *Works*, III. (E.E.T.S. Extra Ser. 72), 17.

P. 163. Prices of goods bought for servants: *Paston Letters*, IV, 289; *Howard Household Book*, II. 219.

Sir John Paston's doublet: *Paston Letters*, V. 248.

Purchases of Sir J. Howard; *Id.* IV. 262; *Howard Household Book*, I. 414.

Price of a long gown of cloth of gold: this estimate is based on the quantities required by Richard III, and on the prices paid by Sir John Howard, but in *Richard III's Wardrobe Accounts* prices of cloth of gold ranged from 33*s.* to £4, and Henry VII paid as much as £8 a yard. *Archæologia*, I. 366n.; Campbell, *op. cit.*, II., 6.

Gilding clothes: *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, 109; *Rot. Parl.*, VI. 184.

P. 164. Sir J. Fastolf's wardrobe: *Paston Letters*, III. 174 and seq.

Edward IV's shoes and gloves: *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV*, ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas, 138, 137.

P. 164. Girdles: *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*,45; Palgrave, *op. cit.*, III. 337; Smith, H. Clifford, *Jewellery*, 162.

P. 165. Furs: *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV*, 134; *Hist. of Fordwich*, 34–5; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 235, 236; *Norwich Records*, 203; *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*, 36, 37; *Cal. French Rolls*, 1430–1, m. 5, 1431–2, m. 15.

Neck chains: *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 214; Palgrave, *op. cit.*, II. 241.

P. 166. Henry VI's tablet: *Ibid.*, II. 241.

Reliquaries: Smith, H. C., *op. cit.*, 118, 122.

Brooches: Palgrave, *op. cit.*, III. 348, 340.

P. 167. "Enseignes": Smith, H. C., *op. cit.*, 107, 109.

Curious powers attributed to gems, and rings: *Ibid.*, 123; King, C. W., *Natural Hist. of Precious Stones*, 274, 10; *Antique Gems and Rings*, 376–7.

P. 169. Iconographic Rings: Smith, *op. cit.*, 150.

P. 170. Dainty trifles: Palgrave, *op. cit.*, II. 245, 252; Smith, H. C., *op. cit.*, 125.

Imports from foreign countries: *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S., IX. 88, 89; Wright, *Political Songs*, II. 186.

P. 171. Luxury of Burgundy, Smith, *op. cit.*, 88–9.

P. 172. Welcome to the King, 1469, *Paston Letters*, V. 62.

CHAPTER XIII

P. 173. The fortification of houses: Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture of England*, fifteenth century, pp. 408–17, 421–2, 261.

Arrangement of manor houses: *Ibid.*, fourteenth century, 118–9; *Bury Wills*, 20, 24.

P. 174. The chapel: Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, fourteenth century, 79–80.

John of Gaunt's Hall at Kenilworth Castle: Gotch, J. A., *The Growth of the English House*, p. 55.

Sir John Fastolf's Halls at Caister Castle, *Paston Letters*, III. pp. 185, 186.

Arrangement of the Hall and offices: Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, fourteenth century, 42–3, 119, 121, 122, 137, 135, 139.

Kitchens: Gotch, *op. cit.*, 61–6.

P. 175. Chambers of the Lord and Lady: *Archæologia*, XXV. 323; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 468; *Paston Letters*, III. 181, 184, 185.

Parlours: *Howard Household Books*, I. 557; *Bury Wills*, 20–1; *Somerset Medieval Wills* (*Somerset Record Soc.*, vol. XVI.), 301, 242; *Manners and Expences in Antient Times*, ed. Nichols, J., 239; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II, 57, 556, 591; Chaucer, *Works*, VII. 363.

Wardrobe: Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, XIVth c., 108–9; XVth c., 96.

P. 176. Bedrooms: *Paston Letters*, III. 181–5; Hoccleve, *Works* (1892), p. 151.

Increasing size of houses in towns: Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, XIV. c., 187; Hunt, *Bristol*, 108.

Materials used for building: Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, XVth c., 22. An interesting example of an old stone house may be seen at Chipping Campden, in the Cotswolds, it is called Grevel House and belonged to a wool-merchant of that name who died early in the fifteenth century, and was buried in the church there. See also *Bury Wills*, 38, 37, 247; *Howard Household Books*, II. 57; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 56/93, 63/213; *Cal. Gloucester Records*, 414; Harris, D., *op. cit.*, 292, 293; *Nottingham Records*, II. 29, 389–390; *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, 87, 106, 175, 176.

P. 177. Goldsmiths' Row, London: Stow, *Survey* (1754), I. 686.

Roofs of houses: Nichols, *op. cit.*, 185; *Medieval Record of a London City Church*, 84, 174, 175, 200; *Nottingham Records*, II. 71.

P. 178. Precautions against fire: *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 549; *Eng. Gilds*, 386; *Custumale Villae de Fordevico*, 216.

Use of glass for windows: *Ancient Corr.* (P. R. O.), vol. XLVI., Letter 263; *Howard Household Books*, I. 511; *Grace Book A.*, 19, 82.

Substitutes for glass: Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, XIVth c. 38n.

P. 178. Tenant's fixtures: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 64/234; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 546.

P. 179. Gardens in London: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 12th Report, App. Pt. IX, p. 382; *Cal. Inquis. post mortem*, II. 300.

Furniture in the Hall: *Bury Wills*, 81; *Somerset Wills, loc. cit.*, 302; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 11; Turner and Parker, *op. cit.*, XIVth c., pp. 44, 45.

P. 180. The bed and its accessories: *Wardrobe Accounts of Ed. IV*, 143; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 235; *Manners and Meals*, 313–4; *Add. Charters*, 2, 733; *Ordinances of the Roy. Household* (*Articles of H. VII*), 121–2; *Proceed. Privy Council*, III. 59; Devon, *Issues*, 144.

Truckle-beds, Wright, *Hist. of Domestic Manners*, 408; *The charters . . . of the Priory of Finchale*, p. clv.

Bedrooms and their furniture: a very good idea of a Medieval bedroom may be obtained from illustrated manuscripts, see especially *Harl. MS.* 2,278, f. 13d.; *Roy. MS.* 1 E. *ix.*, f. 101; *Add. MS.* 29,704, f. 36; *Ibid.*, 16,998, f. 9d.

A perch: *Roy. MS.* 10 *E. iv.*, f. 167d.; *Roy. MS.* 1 *E. ix.*, f. 129.

Miscellaneous articles of furniture: Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 587; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 218; *Somerset Wills, loc. cit.*, 225; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 66/311.

P. 181. Tapestry: "A grene hallyng with bankers and half a Dosen Qwisshons belongyng therto"; *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories* (Chetham Soc. N.S. 3), p. 4. "1 Banker d'Arras"; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 231, "*I pece de Reynes*"; *Ibid.*, IV. 236. Jubinal, M.A., *Tapisseries in Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, ed., P. Lacroix et F. Seré, II. f. v.

"Quisshons de velvet," *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 230; "curtyns de satyn," *Ibid.*; "Quisshonclothes . . . de Bandekyn," *Ibid.*, IV. 235; cf. *Ibid.*, 237, and *Wardrobe Accounts of Ed. IV*, 236.

Worsted hangings: *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 231, 236. *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 19.

"A bed of Lyn"; *Ibid.*, 36.

"Beds of Norfolk": Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 207.

"Salles d'Angleterre": Jubinal, *loc. cit.*, II. f. vi.

Subjects represented on tapestries: *Rot. Parl.*, IV.

232, 238; Devon, *Issues*, 491; "Sir Persyvall," *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 230. *Wardrobe Accounts of Ed. IV*, 142; *Somerset Wills, loc. cit.*, 189; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 234, 230; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 190, 202.

P. 182. Covering for floors: carpet in the King's chamber, and in the Queen's, *Ordinances . . . of the Roy. Household* (*Articles of Henry VII*), 121, 125; "rushes and litter for the chamber," *Ibid.*, 119. Cf. *Grace Book A*. 117, *Grace Book B*. 111.

Fuel: *Account Rolls of Durham*, List of subjects, and index; *Archæologia*, 321; *Ordinances . . . of the Roy. Household*, 104; *Add. MSS.*, 34, 213, ff. 48d, 54, 60; Riley, *Memorials*, 335–6, 560; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (*Beverley*, 1900), 70, 102, 103; *The inventories . . . of Jarrow*, 74, 75; *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 233; *Nottingham Records*, II. 265; *Colchester Oath Book*, 9; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, etc.*, 117; *Letter Book G*(City of London), 248; *Id.*, H, 72, 289, *Id.*, I, 44.

P. 183. The lighting of houses: candles, *Ordi ances of the Roy. Household*, 103; *Add. MSS.*, 34, 213, ff. 68, 99; *Grace Book A*, 71. Torches, *Ibid.*, 83. In the *Song of the Lady Bessy* we read—

> "Char-coals in chimneys there were cast,
> Candles on sticks standing full high";

and a torch and other lights were lighted in Lord Strange's house. *Percy Soc.*, vol. XX., 12, 17.

Candlesticks: *Bury Wills*, p. 19; *Nottingham Records*, III. 39; II. 21; Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 546.

Lighting of the streets: *Norwich Records*, II. 91; *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 226; Riley, *op. cit.*, 669.

P. 184. Houses of London tradesmen: Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 203, 428, 464, 556.

Houses in Friday Street: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Report, App. Part I., p. 20.

P. 185. Rents in London: *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, p. 124.

Allowance for rent to a sergeant tailor in the King's Great Wardrobe: Campbell, *op. cit.*, I. 169.

Allowance for rent to Richard Beck: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Report, App. Part I., 113–4.

Rents in and near Warrington: *Warrington in 1465*, ed. W. Beamont, 110–3, 136–9, 46–9.

P. 186. Bedroom accommodation: Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 120–1.

P. 187. Cost of building at Gloucester: *Records . . . of Glos.*, 414.

Rents of cottages: *Leicester Records*, II. 245, 259; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 15th Report, App. Pt. X., 144. *Cal. Inquis. post mortem*, III. 143, 169; *Norwich Records*, II. 248–9.

CHAPTER XIV

P. 190. Outbreaks of pestilence in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth: Creighton, *C.*, in *Social England*, ed. Traill, H. D., and Mann, J. S., vol. II. 323; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 420, V. 67, 143, 618, VI. 99; *Letter Book* I (City of London), xiii.; *Proceed. Privy Council*, IV. 282; Campbell, *op. cit.*, II. 136; Creighton, *A Hist. of Epidemics in Britain*, I. 220; *Paston Letters*, V. 119, VI. 25.

P. 191. Sweating Sickness: Creighton, *op. cit.*, I. 269–70.

Complaints prevalent in the Middle Ages: Henslow, *Medical Works of the fourteenth century*, 83, 91, 113, 43, 29, 101, 140, 81, 141, 37–8, 137; Arderne, J., *Treatises of Fistula in Ano*, xv., xxix., 37; Creighton, *op. cit.*, I. 224; Lanfrank, *Science of Cirurgie* (E.E.T.S. Orig. Ser. 102), 105, 310, 238, 208, 191, 229.

P. 192. The condition of their eyesight: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 529; Lanfrank, *op. cit.*, 249, 242–3, 245, 251, 253. *Howard Household Books*, I. 280; Henslow, *op. cit.*, 94, 108, 42, 107, 108, 80, 109, 136, 108, 133.

Spectacles: *Bury Wills*, p. 15; cf. Hoccleve, *Works* (1892), 51.

Unwholesome food: the shepherds in the *Towneley Play* named after them had a meal in the fields, and amongst their victuals was "moton" of an ewe that was "roton." They were not very poor; on the contrary, they were the owners of the sheep they tended. *Shepherds' Play*, I. 107. The account of their food in the parallel *Chester Play* is even worse; after they have had all they want, they offer the remains to the boy, but he replies—

"Naie, the dirte is so deepe
stamped therein, for to steepe;
and the grubbs thereon doe creepe
at home, at thy house."

Adoration of the Shepherds, 141.

Sale of putrid meat: *Nottingham Records*, I. 349, III. 47–9.

P. 193. Medieval ideas of cleanliness: Chaucer, *Works*, I. 97, 98; *Manners and Meals*, 178, 182–3; *Liber Niger, loc. cit.*, 44. Cf. *MS. Cott. Vespasian* B. XII. f. 17.

Neglect of sanitation in towns: Riley, *op. cit.*, 616; 4 *H. VII*, c. 3; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 669; *Nottingham Records*, I. 275; *Norwich Records*, I. 383; *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 31.

P. 194. Pigs in the streets: *Norwich Records*, II. 205–6; *Records of Leicester*, II. 104; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (*Beverley*, 1900), 167.

P. 195. Water supply in towns: Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford), I. 16, 17, 18, II. 40–1; *Letter Book H* (City of London), 354; *Cal. Records of the Corporation of Glos.*, 391–2; *Charters . . . to Kingston-upon-Hull*, trans. J. R. Boyle, 58–9; Green, *op. cit.*, I. 19.

P. 196. Regulation regarding brewers: *Letter Book I* (London), 139; *Coventry Leet Book*, 584. Cf. *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 229.

Wells: *Records of Leicester*, II. 19, 291; *Nottingham Records*, I. 333, II. 416; *Beverley Town Documents*, ed. A. F. Leach, 42.

Methods of carrying water: Riley, *op. cit.*, 254; *Letter Book G* (London), 206; *Nottingham Records*, I. 117.

P. 197. Population: Creighton, *op. cit.*, I. 200. Cf. Seebohm, F., in *Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1865, p. 153. 9 *H. V*, st. 1, c. 5; *Italian Relation*, 31.

Medical men in the Middle Ages: Power, D'Arcy, *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery*, xi., xii.; Sidney Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, 35, 22–3.

P. 198. The Barber-Surgeons of London; *Letter Book I*, xxvii.–viii.

The agreement of 1493: Young, *op. cit.*, 66.

The union of 1540: *Ibid.*, 69.

Quacks and impostors: *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 158; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 66/264; Riley, *op. cit.*, 465.

P. 199. The use of charms: Arderne, *op. cit.*, 103–4; Henslow, *op. cit.*, 144–5.

Odd prescriptions: *Ibid.*, 110, 141, 28; Power, *op. cit.*, 29.

P. 200. Blood-letting: Lanfrank, *Science of Cirurgie* (E.E.T.S. Or. Ser. 102), 19; Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquæ, Antiquæ*, 189, 191.

Use of astrology by doctors: Arderne, *op. cit.*, 16; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 13.

Antiseptic treatment: Lanfrank, *op. cit.*, 52, 86.

The use of cauterizing: *Ibid.*, 306, 309, 310, 253, 265, 308.

P. 201. Doctors' fees: *Proceed. Privy Council*, III. 282–3; Campbell, *op. cit.*, I. 67; *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, xl., 37, 103, 333, xlvi.; Campbell, *op. cit.*, II. 358; *Accounts Exchequer, K.R. Army*, 48/3; Arderne, *op. cit.*, 6; *Early Chanc. Proceed.* 42/108.

P. 202. The dangers of doctors: *Ibid.*, 105/35; Arderne, *op. cit.*, xxviii.; *Nottingham Records*, II. 318–9.

CHAPTER XV

P. 204. Bequests for education: Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 61, 61, 112, 131–2, 185, 243, 246, 279, 322, 459–60, 508, 600; *Ipswich Wills* quoted by Mr. Redstone in *Royal Hist. Soc. Transactions*, N.S., XVI. 165.

P. 205. Gild of Kalendars, Bristol: Hunt, W., *Bristol*, 112.

Education of villeins: Rogers, J. E. T., *Agric. and Prices*, II. 615, 616; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 294, 602; 7 *Henry V*, c. 17.

Grammar Schools, 1363–1400: Leach, A. F., *Eng. Schools at the Reformation*, 323.

Unlicensed Masters in London: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 324. For somewhat similar cases see Montmorency, J. E. G. de, *State Intervention in Eng. Education*, 12–16, 51–6.

P. 206. Proceedings against heretical teachers: 2 *H. IV*, c. 15. *Rot. Parl.*, III. 584. *Patent Rolls, H. IV*, vol. III. 352.

Petition of Byngham: Willis, R., *Architectural Hist. . . . of Cambridge*, I. lvi.; Mullinger, James Bass, *The*

University of Cambridge, Vol. I., 349. Cf. for schools standing empty, Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, I. 151. Petition of London parsons: *Rot. Parl.*, V. 137.

P. 207. Schools founded in the latter part of the fifteenth century: Green, A. S., *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, II. 14, 15; Stow, J., *Survey of London* (1754), I. 182–3, 311; Leach in *Victoria County Hist., Lincolnshire*, II. 484; *Early Yorkshire Schools*, II. xxvii., xxxi.

Monastic Schools: *Compotus Rolls of . . . St. Swithun's*, 204n; *Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, lvii.; *Rites of Durham*, ed. Canon Fowler (Surtees Soc. 107), 62, 91. Chantry Priests as School-masters: *Records . . . of Gloucester*, 398; Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 53. Gild Schools: Leach, *Eng. Schools*, 34; Smith, J. T., *English Gilds*, 198, 205; cf. Green, *op. cit.*, II. 13n. Municipal authorities and schools, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 14th Report, Pt. VIII. 22; *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 101, 118, 190.

P. 208. Types of schools and the subjects taught in them: Watson, Foster, *The Eng. Grammar Schools to* 1660, 2–3, 137, 142, 146, 226–7, 229, 401; Leach, *Warwick School*, 71, 79; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 19/491.

P. 209. Value of Latin: Leach, *Eng. Schools*, 105.

P. 211. School Life: Leach, *Winchester College*, 158 and seq.; Lyte, Sir H. C. Maxwell, *A Hist. of Eton College*, 589 and seq. *Early Chanc. Proceedings*, 27/343. Mullinger, J. B., *University of Camb.*, I. 144–5.

P. 212. Festival of the Boy Bishop: Hunt, *Bristol*, 110; Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I. 353, 357.

Children of the lower and middle classes at schools: *Early Chanc. Proceedings*, 19/491, 46/162, 47/52, 61/390. Mr. de Montmorency has noticed the distinction drawn by Higden and Trevisa between "children in scole" and "gentil men children." *State Intervention in English Education*, 20–21. School fees: *Nottingham Records*, I. 263. For the employment of children at an early age see *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, by the present author, pp. 143–6.

P. 213. Education of young nobles: *Howard Household Book*, I. 269; *Liber Niger*, 51, 45; Hardyng, John, *Chronicle* (H. Ellis, 1812), Preface, i. Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 3–4. Cf. *Ordinances for the Government of Prince Edward* in *Ordinances*

. . . *of the Royal Household*, 29 ; *Percy MSS.*, II. 96 ; Hoccleve, *Works*, I. 50, 51 (reference to the tutor of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward IV).

P. 214. Education of Women (*a*) in private houses : *Rot. Parl.*, III. 528 ; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 292, 471–2 ; Hoccleve, *Works*, I. 150, 170 ; *Song of the Lady Bessy* (Percy Soc., vol. XX.), 44, 10, 11 ; Smith, S. A., *John of Gaunt*, 415 ; *Plumpton Correspondence*, 8 ; (*b*) in nunneries : *V.C.H., Bedford*, I. 356 ; *W. Salt Archæol. Soc.*, N.S., VIII. 119. Cf. *Lincoln Episcopal Register, Gynwell*, ff. 100 b and xxxiv. a. These references were kindly given to me by Mr. G. G. Coulton and also that from *Bishop Stapeldon's Register*. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, II. 363 and 456–7 ; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 44/227 ; Devon, *Issues*, 437–8 ; *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, II. 104, 267 ; *Register of Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter*, 316 ; Aungier, *Hist. of Syon Monastery*, 377, 388 ; Blunt, J. H., *Myroure of Our Lady*, vii., xl. ; *English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, 25–6 ; (*c*) in elementary schools ; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 280/78 quoted by Mr. de Montmorency in *Journal of Education*, June, 1909. Schoolmistress at Boston : *V.C.H., Lincolnshire*, II. 451.

P. 219. Decay of the Universities : Mullinger, *op. cit.*, I. 297, 322 ; Bekyngton, T., *Letters* (Rolls Series, No. 56), Letter xxxix. ; Rashdall, H., *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, II. 584, 587, 590 ; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 81 ; Wylie, J. H., *Hist. of England under Henry IV*, III. 413–4.

P. 220. Classes at the Universities : Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 658 ; Lyte, *Hist. of the University of Oxford*, 196.

Lollardy at Oxford : Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 429–37.

P. 221. Career of a Medieval Student : *Grace Book A* (Luard Memorial Series), xxi. and seq. ; Anstey, H., *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Series, No. 50), lxxxiv.–vi. ; Lyte, *Oxford*, 206.

P. 223. Results of Medieval methods of study : Latham, H., *On the Action of Examinations*, 94–5, 107, 109. Cf. Mullinger, *op. cit.*, 365–6.

Age of students : Furnivall, *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, xxxix. ; cf. Anstey, *op. cit.*, lvii.–viii., and for married students, 347 ; Lyte, *Oxford*, for the age of admission at New College, 190.

P. 224. Hostels : Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 607 and seq. ; Anstey, *op. cit.*, lxv.

The collegiate system: Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 615–624; Mullinger, *op. cit.*, 368–9.

P. 225. Misdeeds of Students: Anstey, *op. cit.*, 536, 531, 539, 718; *Grace Book A*, 93, 94, 95, 98, 122, 144, 205; *Grace Book B*, 22, 28, 29, 36, 49, 69; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 131.

Punishment of students: Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 413, 415, 612–4.

P. 226. Lack of wholesome amusement: *Ibid.*, 669.

Expenses of students: Anstey, *op. cit.*, xcvi.–viii., 555; cf. for the cost of incepting, Lyte, *Oxford*, 225, and for total expenditure, *Manners and Meals*, xxx.–i. In the *Household Book of John, Duke of Norfolk*, p. 468, we read that Master Barfote asked for the child at Cambridge, William Marche, "for a xij monthe" £5 11*s.* 10*d.*, and also "for the tother child Barfelde" for a year £3 14*s.* 7*d.*

P. 228. Unlettered petitioners: *Early Chanc. Proceedings*, 15/143, 15/229, 16/277, 24/138, 25/158, 31/146, 44/265, 50/413, 59/44, 59/50, 80/94.

Churchwardens' Accounts not written by themselves: *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, edited by H. Littlehales, 168, 204; *Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton*, etc., edited by Bishop Hobhouse, 176, 177, 186.

Accounts of bailiffs and artisans: J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, 165.

P. 229. Inquiries concerning Sir John Fastolf's will: *Paston Letters*, IV. 237–44.

Value of Books: Henry IV paid £25 for a two-volume breviary: Wylie, *op. cit.*, III. 232; the churchwardens of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, paid 40*s.* for a "massebooke": *Archæologia Cantiana*, XVI. 292; Sir John Motram gave his antiphoner to the church of St. Mary-at-Hill, London, on condition that it paid 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for his obit, for twenty years: *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, 182. Books as pledges: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 217/11, 231/63; books deposited as cautions at Cambridge: *Grace Book A*, x.–xv.; *Grace Book B*, viii. ff. Books as legacies: Sharpe, *op. cit.*, II. 99, 103, 105, 115, 136, 138, 168, 169; *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 49, 50, 51; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 55/127. Libraries: at Cambridge and Oxford, Willis, *op. cit.*, III. 392 and seq.; *Grace Book A*, xli., 109; Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, 405–7; at Norwich

Cathedral, Wylie, *op. cit.*, II. 202n.; libraries of monks and friars; *Ibid.*, III. 445; Stow, *op. cit.*, I. 628; James, M. R., *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury*, 41; Gasquet, *Old Eng. Bible*, 6 and seq. Import of books duty free: 1 *Ric. III*, c. 9.

CHAPTER XVI

P. 230. The value set upon hawks: *Paston Letters*, V. 152; *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 219; Devon, *Issues*, 269.

P. 231. Wages of falconers: *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, 65.

Rules regarding the finding of a hawk: *Rot. Parl.*, II. 282.

The cost of keeping hounds: *Berkeley MSS.*, 146; *Accounts Excheq. K.R.*, 405/18. Devon, *Issues*, 163.

P. 232. Qualifications required for hunting: 13 *Ric. II*, st. 1, c. 13.

Strict regulations forbidding servants of the Royal Household keeping hounds, or ferrets, or hunting in any man's warrens without his leave: *Liber Niger*, 66, 68.

Hunting privileges of the citizens of London: Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 108.

P. 233. Tournaments: Froissart, *Chronicles*, IV. 143 and seq.; *Ibid.*, 229; Gairdner, J., *Letters*, I. 399.

P. 234. Tilting at the quintain: Strutt, J., *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 182 and seq.

Wrestling: *Norwich Records*, II. 61.

Horse-racing: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 67/49, quoted by Mr. Martin in *Archæologia*, 2nd Ser., vol. IX. p. 11. Cf. *Nottingham Records*, I. 151.

P. 235. Fishing: Lydgate, *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, 306.

Unlawful games: 12 *Ric. II*, c. 6; 11 *H. IV*, c. 4; 17 *Ed. IV*, c. 3; *Rot. Parl.*, VI. 188; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 37 *Ed. III*, m. 25d.

Games in unsuitable places: Freeman, E. A., *Exeter*, 161. Cf. Riley, *op. cit.*, 580; *Reg. of William of Wykeham*, II. 438.

P. 236. Bull-baiting and hunting: *Coventry Leet Book*, Pt. I. 58; *English Gilds*, 192.

Children's games: Strutt, *op. cit.*, 496 and seq.

P. 237. Indoor games: Wright, *Domestic Manners*, 194–5, 215, 221, 223, 224; Strutt, *op. cit.*, 426; *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 31/507; *Howard Household Books*, I. 481.

The evils of dicing: Fox, F. F., *Merchant Taylors of Bristol*, 8.

Minstrels attached to great households: *Ordinances . . . of the Roy. Household*, 4; *Earl of Derby's Expeditions*, pp. xcvi., xcvii.; *Excheq. Accounts, K.R.*, 47/23.

P. 238. Town minstrels: *Coventry Leet Book*, Pt. I. 59; cf. Boys, *Sandwich*, 673.

Training a harper: *Howard Household Books*, II. 300.

Gilds of minstrels: Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 699; *Eng. Gilds*, 148; Strutt, *op. cit.*, 266–7; Jusserand, *Eng. Wayfaring Life*, 205–6.

Proficiency of Eng. singers: *Proceed. Privy Council*, V. 218.

Musical instruments: Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 96, V. 102, IV. 92, 17; *Liber Niger*, 48; Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 201–2; Wright, *op. cit.*, 184–5, 189.

P. 239. *Song of the Lady Bessy:* Percy Soc., vol. XX., ed. J. O. Halliwell; Frith, C. H., *Ballad Hist. of the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* in *Trans. R. Hist. S.*, Third Ser., II. 23.

P. 240. "Debates": Jusserand, *Literary Hist. of the Eng. People*, I. 443–4.

Interludes: *Ibid.*, 446.

Gifts to wandering minstrels: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th Report, App. Pt. VII. 174; *Add. MSS.*, 33, 987, f. 88; in the *Receipts of . . . Bodmin Church* (p. 11) we find a reference to players "yn the Church Hay William Mason and his fellowis." *Camden Misc.* 1875.

P. 242. Mumming at Christmas: Bateson, *Borough Customs*, II. 48; Riley, *op. cit.*, 669; Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I. 396, 398n.

Hocking: *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. XVI. 292.

P. 243. Church-ales: *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, etc.*, 89, 177, 181.

Play-kings: *Ibid.*, 5, 7, 183.

Robin Hood Games: *Paston Letters*, V. 185.

The Mummers' Play of St. George: Chambers, E. K., *Medieval Stage*, I. 210, 160 ff.

P. 244. Intercourse of men and women: *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, 21 f., 32, 33, 35, 47 185–6; Froissart, *Chronicles*, II. 291; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 487; VII. 380.

P. 245. Amusements of Women: *MS. Cott. Claudius D. ii.* f. 69; *Roy. MS.*, 10 *E. iv.* ff. 41, 44, 45d., 78, 69d, 147; *Harl. MS.* 6,563, ff. 2, 36; *Taymouth Horae* belonging to Mr. Yates Thompson, ff. 69, 70.

P. 246. Praise of Hunting: *MS. Cott. Vesp. B. xii.* ff. 17, 18.

CHAPTER XVII

P. 248. Messenger arrested: *Ancient Corr.*, vol. XLVI., Letter 108.

P. 249. Condition of the roads: *Rot. Parl.*, VI. 49 (date 1472–3). Similar complaints were made about Canterbury, Taunton, Southampton, Winchester, and Bristol: *Ibid.*, 177, 179, 180, 333, 390.

The Strand, London: Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, I. 279, quoting *Year-Book*, 21 *Ed. IV*, 73b.

Bridges: 9 *H. V*, c. 11.

P. 250. Repair of a street in Beverley: *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1910), 20.

Danger from robbers: *Paston Letters*, III. 52; *Italian Relation*, 34; Fortescue, *Works*, I. 466.

P. 251. Women riding: *Roy. MS.* 10 *E. iv.* f. 76d; Margaret of Anjou's method of riding: *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 297; cf. Gairdner, *Letters*, for the entry of Catherine of Aragon into London, vol. I., App. A., 409, 416.

Carts: *MS. Roy.* 10 *E. iv.* f. 94; *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 236, 237.

State Carriages: Hazlitt, *Livery Companies of London*, 427; Devon, *Issues*, 142; Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 95–100.

Margaret of Anjou's litter: Fabyan, *op. cit.*, 186.

P. 252. The "ridinge housholde" of the Duke of Clarence: *Ord. of the Roy. Household*, 99, 97, 100.

Rate of Travelling: Chaucer, *Works*, V. 415; *Grace Book B*, 95. Howard, C., *The Roads of England and Wales.*

Cost of Travelling: *Grace Book A*, 185; *Grace Book B*, 9.

P. 253. Journey to London: *Grace Book A*, 13; but on another occasion, in 1462–3, it was only 2*s.* 6*d*: *Ibid.*, 36.

The cost of staying in London: *Ibid.*, 185.

Monasteries as inns: Pecock, *Repressor*, II. 543; Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 126; Gairdner, *Letters*, vol. I., App. A., p. 407; *Howard Household Books*, II. xvi., 449, 434, 456–7, 460–2.

Inns: "pro cena apud hospicium college mei," *Grace Book B*, 68; "Symsons," etc.: *Ibid.*, 84, 92, 74, 75, 89; *The George*, Salisbury: Hackwood, F. W., *Inns . . . of old England*, 214.

P. 254. Travellers in the Digby Plays: *Mary Magdalen*, Pt. I. Sc. 9.

P. 255. Perils of Travellers: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 11/222, 17/336.

Waterways: *Ibid.*, 52/3.

Boat-hire: *Grace Book A*, 185; *Grace Book B*, 84, 89, 93; *Howard Household Books* II. 126, 127, 128, 370.

John of Gaunt bought a new barge and paid "tresze livres sys souldz oyt deniers for it." *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 155.

P. 256. Efforts to keep rivers free from obstructions: 25 *Ed.* III, st. 3, c. 4; 45 *Ed. III*, c. 2; 1 *H. IV*, c. 12; 1 *H. V*, c. 2; 9 *H. VI*, c. 9; 12 *Ed. IV*, c. 7; *Nottingham Records*, vol. I. 227, 413.

A journey along the coast: Hardy, *op. cit.*, II. 629.

P. 257. The size of ships: *Cal. French Rolls*, 1427–8, m. 14; Oppenheim, *Roy. Navy*, I. 20.

Advantages of travelling by water: Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 243; *Proceed. Privy Council*, I. 290.

Perils by water: 9 *H. VI*, c. 5; Rymer, *Fœdera*, XII. 583.

Troubles of pilgrims: *Pilgrims Sea Voyage* in *Naval Songs and Ballads*, ed. Firth, C. H.

P. 259. A narrow escape: *Cely Papers*, 57.

Ships equipped for defence: *Ibid.*, 177–9.

Pirates: *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1405, m. 29d. For other references on this subject see *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, 83–5, 218.

CHAPTER XVIII

P. 262. Misdeeds of the Lady of Bergevenny: *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 26/616. This petition is also interesting as one of the few cases in which Welshmen appealed to the Chancellor, but the petitioners were probably in an especially favoured position because they were the King's tenants of the Duchy of Lancaster.

P. 263. An example of the vain repetition of laws may be seen in the numerous enactments against Livery and Maintenance: *Rot. Parl.*, III. 23, 307, 345, 428, 477; IV. 348; V. 487, 633. *Statutes:* 1 *H. IV*, c. 7; 13 *H. IV*, c. 3; 8 *H. VI*, c. 4; 8 *Ed. IV*, c. 2.

Remission of punishment: *Records of the Borough of Reading*, 30; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (1900), *Beverley Town Minutes*, 117; Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. 414; see also p. 413 for Canon Rashdall's opinions on this subject.

P. 264. Petitions for writs of corpus cum causa: Martin, *Some Chanc. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Century in Archæologia*, 2nd Series, vol. IX. p. 1.

Barbarity of executions: *English Chronicle*, p. 60. Jack Cade's head was cut off and his body quartered, and the pieces were exposed to view on a hurdle with the head between his breasts, and afterwards it was set up on London bridge. Gregory, W., *Historical Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 194.

"For Jake Napes Sowle," *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, edited by Dr. Furnivall, p. 6.

P. 265. Usury amongst merchants:—

"Si mercatorum quærantur lumina morum,
Lux non fulgebit ubi fraus cum cive manebit.
Contegit usuræ subtilis forma figuræ,
Vultum larvatum quem dives habet similatam."

Gower, J., *Vices of the Different Orders of Society* in Wright's *Political Songs*, I. 358; cf. *Italian Relation*, 23.

Covetousness of the Clergy:—

"For, in sothnes, þer is no degre
Gredier nor more ravynous
Of worldly good, nor more coueitous
þan prestis ben to cacche what þei may."

Lydgate, *Troy Book*, 735–6.

Morality of Lawyers:—

"Thow I have a man islawe,[1]
And forfytyd the Kyngés lawe,
I xal fyndyn a man of lawe,
Wyl takyn myn peny, and let me goo."

A Song in Praise of Sir Penny in Ritson's *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, 116.

Bribery in France: Hall, E., *Chronicle*, edited by Ellis, H., 189.

Perjury of Jurors: 11 *H. VI*, c. 4. Cf. 11 *H. VII*, c. 21; and *Proceed. of the Privy Council*, III. 313.

P. 266. Commercial Morality: *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, I. 271, 273, 281; 6 *H. IV*, c. 3; 22 *Ed. IV*, c. 2; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 272; *Ibid.*, V. 503; *Ibid.*, III. 644; *Ibid.*, V. 30; *Ibid.*, II. 439; 2 *H. VI*, c. 10; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 541, V. 619.

P. 267. *Visions of Patrick's Purgatory*: Fairholt, *Costume in England*, I. 166–7.

Drunkenness; *Manners and Meals*, 39; but the Knight of La Tour-Landry thought it the worst of "all the [un]goodly condiciones that may be in a woman." *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, 116. Rashdall, *Ibid.*, II. 613.

P. 268. Position of Katherine Swynford: Smith, Armitage S., *John of Gaunt*, 358.

Alice Perrers at the Court of Edward III: Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, 82–3.

Protest of London women regarding Eleanor Cobham: Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I. 376–7.

Punishment of immorality by municipal authorities: Officer taken in adultery to be put out of office, *Coventry Leet Book*, I. 118. Offenders to be carried through the town "in a Carre" as an example of the punishment of sin. *Ibid.*, I. 192. Householders harbouring common women to be fined twenty shillings at each default if they do not turn them out upon warning. *Ibid.*, I. 220. In London, women of bad repute were ordered to keep to certain specified places outside the City, but afterwards these places were abolished because so much harm went on in them. Riley, *Memorials of London*, 535, 647–8.

[1] Slain.

Cf. *Little Red Book of Bristol*, I. 33, II. 229. Boys, *Sandwich*, 674–5. *Nottingham Records*, II. 425; *The Oath Book . . . of Colchester*, translated by Benham, W. G., 3, 222, 223.

P. 269. Reputation of the English in arms: *Italian Relation*, 23.

Voyages of Discovery: Beazley, R., *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 41–2, 73, 109.

John of Gaunt and his tenants: *John of Gaunt's Register*, II. 312.

P. 270. Exhortations by visitors to parishioners to repair their churches: *Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Totnes in* 1342, in *English Hist. Review*, Jan., 1911, p. 110 and seq.

Contributions towards the building of Bodmin Church: *Camden Miscellany*, vol. VII. 42–9.

Generosity of the parishioners of Croscombe Church; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, etc.*, edited by Bishop Hobhouse, 3.

P. 271. Church-going in the Middle Ages: "they all attend Mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public." *Italian Relation*, 23. Mass was said at 4, 5, or 6 a.m. for travellers and workmen before going to business. Leach, *Schools of the Reformation*, 14. Cf. *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 544–5.

Books on religion: Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of London and Westminster in the Fifteenth Century*, 17; Gordon Duff, *Early Printed Books*, 137 and seq.

Prohibitions of Sunday trading: *Rot. Parl.*, II. 258, V. 152, 566. *Gloucester Records*, 394. *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II. 153. No craftesman to open "shoppes nor sell eny ware vppon the Sonday in the tyme of dyuyne seruice" on pain of a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* *Coventry Leet Book*, II. 547. But at Norwich, in 1380, it was granted by the whole community that the market for the sale of victuals should be held at Tombland every Sunday as anciently was used. *Records of Norwich*, II. 406.

Arundel's Letter to the Mayor of London: Young, S., *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, 49, and *Letter Book*, I. xviii. and 115.

P. 272. Violence to the Clergy: *Calendar of the Papal Registers Letters*, VI. 171.

Attack on John Bertone while officiating: *Register*

of William of Wykeham, II. 484. Cf. *Early Chanc. Proceed.*, 3/127, 6/55, 17/333.

P. 273. John Smyth's will: *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds* (Camden Soc. O.S. 49), 61, 62, 67.

John Baret's tomb: *Ibid.*, 234. Cf. Lydgate, *The Pilgrim*, 663. Execution of St. Fremund: *Harl. MS.* 2,278, f. 88 and seq.

P. 275. Profane outburst of humour: Jusserand, *Literary Hist. of the English People*, I. 449, 450; cf. *Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, II. 387.

Masks at Vigils of the dead: Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 46.

P. 276. Credulity of the age: Capgrave, J., *The Chronicle of England* (Rolls. Ser. I.), 240; cf. p. 221; Froissart, *op. cit.*, IV. 440.

Licences for transmuting metals, etc.: Hardy, *Syllabus to Rymer's Fœdera*, II. 687, 691, 699.

Prayers for the King's army: Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, 334n.

P. 277. Proceedings against the Duchess of Gloucester: *English Chronicle*, 57 and seq. *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, edited by Gairdner, p. 63. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, II. 31 and seq.

Treatment of witches in England: Pollock, Sir F., and Maitland, F. W., *History of English Law*, II. 555.

Animals in illustrations in manuscripts: a dog with a party riding, *Harl. MS.* 2,278, f. 30; a dog in a dinner scene, *Ibid.* f. 44d. Dog in the bedroom of Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, *Harl. MS.* 7,026, f. 29. Lady with a pet dog in her arms, *MS. Roy.* 10 *E. iv.*, f. 185. Birds: *Harl. MS.* 6,563, ff. 31, 49, 50, 80, 95d, *MS. Roy.* 16 *F. ii.*, f. 210d.

Cats: *Russell's Boke of Nurture* in *Manners and Meals*, 182; Chaucer, *Works*, IV. 374; *The Boke of Curtasye* in *Manners and Meals*, 302.

"Houndes" are mentioned in the King's chamber in the *Liber Niger, Ordinances of the Royal Household*, 41.

P. 278. Conventionality of the poetry of the fifteenth century: Lydgate, *Assembly of Gods*, edited by Triggs, O. L. (Early English Text Soc. Extra Ser. 69), Introduction, 1.

P. 278. Stereotyped method of beginning a poem: *Ibid.*, liii.–v.

P. 280. Woodcuts in early printed books: Gordon Duff, *Caxton*, 36; and Gordon Duff in Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books*, Chap. XI. 223–4, 228.

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